SCS #1018

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THE

WORKS

OF THE

REV. WILLIAM THOM,

LATE MINISTER OF GOVAN,

CONSISTING OF

SERMONS, TRACTS,
LETTERS, &c. &c.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR JAMES DYMOCK, BOOKSELLER, HIGH-STREET.

1799.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

SERMONS.

Page

1. *INQUIRY into the Causes of the Decline of Religion,* - - - - - - - 1
2. *Sober and Religious Conference considered and recommended,* - - - - - 23
3. *The Revolt of the Ten Tribes,* - - 54
4. *Achan's Trespass in the Accursed Thing considered,* - - - - - - - 87
5. *From whence come Wars?* - - - 126
6. *The Task-Masters,* - - - - 159

PART II.

LETTERS, TRACTS, &c.

Page

1. *MOTIVES for the University of Glasgow leaving the Blackfriar's Church,* - - 231
2. *Defects of an University Education,* - 263
3. *Remarks on the same,* - - - - 302
4. *Scheme for Erecting an Academy set forth in its own proper Colours,* - - - 324
5. *Defence of the College of Glasgow, against an insidious Attempt to depreciate the Ability and Taste of its Professors,* - - - 357
6. *Donaldsoniad,* - - - - - 360
7. *Trial of a Student in the College of Clutha, in the Kingdom of Oceana,* - - - 374
8. *Letter of Advice to the Farmers and Land-Labourers in Scotland,* - - - - 429

PART I.

SERMONS.

SERMON I.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF RELIGION.

Preached at the Opening of the Synod of Glaſgow and Air, 1761.

Demas hath forſaken me, having loved this preſent World. 2 TIM. iv. 10.

THAT religion is decayed, hath, for a long time, been the general complaint. We cannot ſee into the hearts of men, ſo as to make a juſt eſtimate of the regard they have to God: we can only judge from their outward behaviour; and in this reſpect the complaint ſeems to be but too well founded. Men grow leſs and leſs ſtrict in the profeſſion of religion, and the number of thoſe who profeſs it ſeems to be gradually diminiſhing. It is not maintained, that a man can have no devotion and rectitude of heart, if he neglects the forms of religion that are ſettled or generally eſteemed in the country where he lives; but if one has real religion, he will very readily have ſome profeſſion: and it is alſo commonly believed, that he who decently profeſſes religion will have more virtue, and be a better member of ſociety, than one who has no ſuch profeſſion. Since, then, an outward profeſſion is preſumed to flow from an inward ſenſe of religion;

and ſince religion is ſuppoſed to contribute to the virtue and good order of the world at preſent, and is confeſſedly neceſſary to the happineſs of men in the world to come; is it really true that it grows to be leſs and leſs in requeſt? and if ſo, what are the cauſes of this its decline?

Demas, ſays the apoſtle in the text, "Demas hath forſaken me, having loved this preſent world." He is baſe and infamous, who forſakes his friend from worldly views; he is impious, and in a ſtate of perdition, who forſakes his God and his religion from any views whatever: but, in our times, it is not one only, there are many, who, it is to be feared, have loſt the reality, at leaſt they have forſaken the profeſſion, of religion, and have forſaken it, as Demas did, from love and attachment to this preſent world.

From the text, I might take occaſion to obſerve, that in theſe corrupted times many have forſaken the profeſſion of religion; and then ſhow, that it is from love to this world that they have done ſo.

But I almoſt take it for granted, that men are much leſs regular in their profeſſion of religion than they were fifty, or even thirty years ago. Is the Sabbath as religiouſly obſerved now as it was then? are the churches as much reſorted to by people of all ranks, and of every condition?. is family-religion as much in faſhion? pious aged people behold and lament that there is a very wide and remarkable difference. Could men formerly have undertaken journeys of buſineſs upon the Sabbath, or have rode abroad for amuſement, or viſits of ceremony? could they have tranſacted their buſineſs at home, or met in one another's houſes, and ſpent the hours of public worſhip in feaſting, drinking, and diverſion? could they have done theſe things half a century ago, without being wondered at, and without ſhocking the world much more than it is at preſent, when ſo many are guilty of ſuch rude, unmannerly, and offenſive practices? have not

even many of the people who attend our churches, loſt the ſerious and religious air? and do they not too much wear the looks of careleſſneſs, indifference, or levity?

Theſe, and many other things that might be mentioned, are ſtrong indications that a change has happened to the worſe; and I preſume, that even the profane are convinced that religion has declined. Let us then proceed to what we chiefly intend,—to inquire into the cauſes of this affecting appearance. I think there is a propriety in the inquiry; if there were no profeſſion of religion, there needed be, and there would be, no public teachers of it.

And as this is a topic which, for ought I know, has not been commonly treated, I truſt to the candour of you, my reverend and much eſteemed fathers and brethren. If I ſhall appear to have miſtaken views, as it is exceedingly poſſible I may have; or if I ſhall advance any thing that is not juſt, I am under your correction, and my miſtakes, whatever they are, ſhall not, I am ſure, be pertinaciouſly defended or adhered to.

I begin my ſubject: and I might account for the preſent irreligion—from the depravity of human nature—from infidelity, or diſbelief of religious principles—from a general ſcepticiſm, or indifference about religion—or from God's having withdrawn his grace, to puniſh the world for their profanity and wickedneſs. But ſtill theſe very things are appearances that need to be accounted for. From what cauſes has the world become more wicked of late than it was before, ſo as to provoke God to withdraw his grace? whence is it, that infidelity, ſcepticiſm, and indifference about religion, has grown ſo faſt in the preſent age? and if it be true, whence is it, that human nature is more depraved in this, than it was in the laſt generation? Theſe general allegations, whatever truth there may be in them, ſeem not ſufficient to account for the preſent profaneneſs and irreligion of men. I

think it becomes us to inquire more minutely into the ſubject, and to aſſign, if poſſible, ſome more particular and determinate cauſes of the evil complained of.

Every alteration in the moral world is produced by the agency of God. By his powerful working, men improve in virtue and religion, and by his adorable permiſſion, they become vicious and profane. But, as I take it, every general change of this ſort is brought about by the means, or with the concomitancy, of ſecond or external cauſes. Religion gets footing in a country, when outward circumſtances are favourable to its reception; when theſe outward circumſtances are unfavourable, it declines and loſes ground.

The outward ſtate of things in this kingdom, at preſent, bears no friendly aſpect to religion: and hence, it is apprehended, the growth of profaneneſs may, at leaſt in a great meaſure, be accounted for. The particulars I am going to mention will be too evident ſymptoms of man's corruption, and his being ſwayed by the ſame motive that Demas was—love to a preſent world.

1ſt, A long national peace and proſperity have contributed to our throwing religion aſide. It may be thought that ſuch bleſſings ſhould excite thankfulneſs, and keep religion alive. But thankfulneſs for the greateſt good is but of little force in religion, in compariſon of the feeling or fear of great evil. This may be underſtood, by obſerving the oppoſite effects which proſperity and adverſity, peace and diſturbance, have upon particular perſons. When is it that an individual has moſt religion and moſt the appearance of it? is it not when he is in outward diſtreſs, or when ſome dreaded calamity hangs over his head? When is it that he is moſt cool and careleſs about God? is it not when he is in a ſtate of affluence and eaſe? When he was afflicted, or when he was terrified at the proſpect of worldly trouble, he was ſerious, and appeared to be ſo; when the cloud blows over without doing him harm, he turns back to the world, and loſes the ſeri-

ous temper and the ſerious appearance. Apply this to a whole nation that has long enjoyed proſperity and peace, and it will be evident, how that which affects an individual operates widely, extends its influence, and becomes almoſt univerſal. Beſides, when there has been for a long time peace and quiet about religion itſelf, men grow remiſs about the profeſſion of it. If a convulſion has been raiſed in a country, if a people have been threatened with having their religion changed, or violently torn from them, if a toleration of it has been refuſed, or, if ſome diſputes that are univerſally intereſting have been raiſed and agitated about it, men will likely, for a long time, be tenacious of their religion, and zealous in profeſſing it. But we have not, for many years, been much in danger of a change of our religion; no force has been uſed againſt it, nor have the people intereſted themſelves deeply in any controverſy about it, either againſt the adverſaries of revelation from without, or againſt any particular tenets or opinions among themſelves. I ſuppoſe that what is here ſaid may be ſupported by matter of fact, and verified by ſurveying the ſtate of the world ſince the commencement of Chriſtianity. A time of peace was ever a time of indolence about religion. When it was not tolerated, or when men were in danger of loſing it, they grew the fonder of it. When warm conteſts were maintained by Chriſtians themſelves about it, however theſe might imbitter their ſpirits, and weaken the power of religion upon their hearts, yet they ſtuck the faſter to the outward profeſſion of it. Not that what is ſuggeſted by an eminent French writer is juſt or true, namely, that religion is ſo thin a thing, "that it had vaniſhed and melted through our fingers, had it not more upheld itſelf amongſt us, as an inſtrument of diſpute and faction, than by itſelf." Real religion is not a ſlimſy, but a firm and ſolid thing, and every pious man finds it to be ſo. Thoughtleſs people have not this reality,

and their profeſſion of religion may be more or leſs regular from what is now mentioned, and from other external cauſes.

2d, This is an age wherein commerce flouriſhes, and riches have greatly increaſed, and both theſe, it ſhould ſeem, are unfriendly even to the profeſſion of religion. A rich man, our Saviour ſays, ſhall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. At firſt, they were the poor that came and heard the goſpel preached, and not many mighty or noble were obedient to the call of it. Review the hiſtory of the planting of religion; they were the poor who received it, they were generally the rich who oppoſed it. In the poorer cities and nations, it is believed, a greater proportion of the people embraced it. In the richer ones, the greateſt numbers were more backward and ſlow to believe it; and if our own country had been as rich, or as intent on riches, when the goſpel was firſt preached to it, as it is at preſent, it may be queſtioned whether or not it would have embraced it. When one is rich, or makes haſte to be ſo, he cares not to give himſelf any trouble about religion at all; if he is in the keen purſuit of riches, no ſpiritual thought employs his mind; the God of this world has full poſſeſſion of his heart; he has little or no ſenſe of religion, and, except it be for ſome low worldly end, he has no appearance of it. If his fortune is already made, his time and attention are almoſt as much ſwallowed up in managing or ſpending, as they were in acquiring it: he fares ſumptuouſly every day, his mind is enfeebled, his thoughts are diſſipated, he wants to make a figure in life, and he is inſenſible and forgetful of God. Feeling no wants, he aſks no bleſſings; proud of his knowledge, he thinks he need not be told his duty. If, on a rare occaſion, he countenances public worſhip, he declares by his looks that he thinks he is deſcending from his dignity, and is doing a very humble thing. In ſhort, if he has firſt profeſſed religion, and then becomes opu-

lent, he loſes the ſenſe, and ſhakes off the profeſſion of it. This certainly is oftentimes the caſe: nay, as irreligion is an ordinary appendage of riches, there may be ſome poor enough, and yet ſo vain as to throw off the air of religion, merely that they may be reputed rich.

I do not affirm that the country in general is in an eaſy and opulent ſtate: no. The inequality among men is increaſed, and miſery is increaſed and multiplied in proportion. A few are enriched and live in ſplendour; many are in ſtraits, ſtriving to live above their circumſtances; many are benumbed with conſtant drudgery and ſevere toil; their heavy labour and anxiety operate upon them, not like a temporary affliction, but render their minds groſs, ſtupid, and material. Sometimes borne down by the rich, and always by the wretchedneſs of their condition, they are as the "Aſs that coucheth down between two burdens." Their ſpirits are depreſſed, and nailed and fixed, as it were, to the earth: many of them have no ſenſe of religion, and as little appearance of it.

And as the rich and great forſake religion, the middle and lower claſſes of mankind follow them, and are gradually ſliding into the ſame profaneneſs. They are the nobles, they are the great and opulent, who lead the faſhions of the world; they keep religion in repute when they appear to have it; they leave it to be thought a mean and vulgar thing when they forſake it. To a great many of the ordinary people, their very blemiſhes appear amiable, their vices reſpectable, and their impiety excuſable, or worthy of imitation: ſo that, in various ways, riches are the cauſe or occaſion of irreligion. We have hiſtories of the courſe of trade and commerce, and many directions how to get rich; but had we a moral hiſtory of riches, that is, of the effects that they invariably produce upon the benevolence and devotion of mankind, I am perſuaded we would have ſet before our eyes a more dark

and unpleaſing theory than perhaps we imagine. The friends of religion might be amazed at it.

3d, Men forſake religion, becauſe their honour and worldly intereſt are ſo little connected with the profeſſion of it. If the thing were eſteemed honourable, if a man's reputation were firmly eſtabliſhed by it, if it were a ſure mean by which he could riſe in the army or in the ſtate, he might be a hypocrite, but he would doubtleſs be a very decent profeſſor: but no ſuch profeſſion is neceſſary to be a general, or a ſtateſman, or a judge, or a member of the legiſlative body of the kingdom. And as men gain little or nothing by a religious profeſſion, neither are they in danger of loſing any thing by the want of it. One's profaneneſs brings little diſreſpect upon him; he is hardly the worſe received in any company, and it puts him in no danger of loſing any part of his fortune. In the time of Charles I. many of our great people, we are told, crowded to church, with a demure countenance, and a mighty ſerious air: not chiefly, I ſuppoſe, becauſe that prince was attempting an alteration of the eſtabliſhed religion; that, indeed, alarmed the lower ſort; but the great were alarmed, becauſe the king was revoking the grants to the tithes and church lands which they were in poſſeſſion of. Hence their zealous profeſſion, that they might be ſupported by the clergy and the people, and ſo enabled to cruſh the king's meaſures, and preſerve and ſecure what they had got. While the danger laſted, their profeſſion ſeemed edifying; when the ſtorm was over, it relaxed prodigiouſly.

I am not contending that religious profeſſion ought always to be rewarded with lucrative offices, or places of honour and truſt: but if religion is eſteemed to be of any importance, I ſhould think, that when competitors for an office are nearly alike in virtue and ability, the decent religious man ought to be preferred. This might gently bend the world to think more favourably of religion.

Still leſs am I urging that religion ought to be inforced by civil laws. It is of a ſpiritual nature, and is beſt promoted by ſpiritual motives. When, in a late reign, there were laws compelling men to go to church under ſevere penalties, timorous people would then profeſs religion, and the aſſemblies might be thronged with the poor, and even with the rich. A remedy deſperate and ineffectual! and which could never have been thought of but by thoſe who were either ignorant of the ſpirit of religion, and the ſacred rights of conſcience, or who wanted to trample upon the liberties of mankind, and enthral them in a dreadful yoke of ſlavery. By the way, one cannot but wonder, that ſome ingenious men, in the preſent age, who diſcover no liking to religious profeſſion, ſeem to applaud theſe or the like meaſures as wholeſome ſeverities: meaſures! which, were they now to be purſued, themſelves would be the firſt to feel and lament the rigour of them. When the ableſt men take upon them to defend or palliate ſuch abſurdities in government, they undertake a taſk which no man is equal to.

But as ſuch laws are altogether wrong, ſo in the preſent age they would be more abſurd and ineffectual than ever. They would be directly oppoſite to the genius of the times, to the manners and faſhions of the country: every body would diſlike them, and the general bias is ſo ſtrong towards licentiouſneſs and irreligion, that ſuch laws would deſtroy themſelves. The execution of them would be utterly impracticable.

4th, The knowledge men have, or think they have, attained in religion, may be mentioned as a cauſe of their irreligion. I do not maintain it as a certain point, that there is more real learning, or a greater number of thorough inquirers, in this age than there were in the laſt. But a kind of eaſy and ſuperficial knowledge ſeems to have become more general; and men ſoon come to think they have got enough of religious knowledge. But there is a great miſtake that

cannot be got driven out of the minds of moſt of our people: They fancy the great or only end of going to church is to hear ſermon, and get inſtruction; and yet is it not evident, that the chief end of it is to worſhip God in a public and a ſocial manner! There ſeems, in this reſpect, to be more propriety in the ſtyle ſaid to be uſed in a neighbouring church, than that which is in faſhion among ourſelves. They aſk, where are you going to prayers? and we, where are you to hear ſermon?

5th, The plain and ſcriptural way in which religion is taught in this church, does, I believe, diminiſh the number of its profeſſors. It is a great imperfection of mankind, that many of them care little to hear things which they are capable of knowing, and which, when known, are likely to be of moſt advantage to them. They like well to hear of ſome dark points, and abſtruſe ſpeculations. Theſe were, perhaps, rather too much inſiſted on in the laſt age; but towards that extreme, I am of opinion, the preſent age, in general, have not erred. They have, I apprehend, rather loſt their influence with the people, by preaching in a rational and practical manner. Strange! that it ſhould ſo happen. Shall I be thought to derogate from the common ſenſe of mankind, by alleging it? I fear, however, it is the caſe. Is it not to be lamented, that the pure religion of the new teſtament, unadorned with pomp, and unmixed with ſuperſtition, does not take a deeper hold of the groveling minds of corrupted men—is not more likely to be popular, and to continue to be ſo? One thing I am ſorry to advance; that it happened in ſome places, that the genuine religion of Jeſus could not be received, till ſomething human was blended with it, or adjected to it, to adapt it to the notions of ignorant and worldly men. It was this, alas! that firſt gave riſe to the abſurdities of popery, and to all the inventions of men, in the worſhip of God. The church hiſtorians tell us, that

ſome of the ancient fathers were ſo weak, as to inſtitute rites, and ſports, and feſtivals, very like thoſe which had been long in uſe, to prevail on the idolatrous and ſtupid people, to renounce heatheniſm, and embrace the goſpel.

The religion, eſtabliſhed and taught in this church, has, I believe, leſs of human invention, and leſs mixture of ſuperſtition, than perhaps any other eſtabliſhment; and yet ſomething, ſimilar to what I have juſt mentioned, has, I fear, been formerly practiſed; I mean, a ſtudying not always to deliver the ideas of ſcripture, pure and unmixed, but to accommodate them to the wiſhes and expectation of the hearers. What pity that there ſhould be any occaſion to do this! or that any teacher ſhould ſtrive thus "to pleaſe men!" What pity is it, that preaching the goſpel of Chriſt, in its native ſimplicity, ſhould make men diſlike it, and forſake it! and yet this is ſometimes the fact. The doctrines of the goſpel are ſublime, intereſting, and comfortable; the pureſt morality is founded upon them, and recommended by them. If this morality is explained; if the vices, ſo often condemned in the new teſtament, are inſiſted on and expoſed; if you deſcend to particulars, and ſhow, that ſwearing, perjury, covetouſneſs, lying, fraud, injuſtice, oppreſſion, pride, intemperance, and debauchery, are inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian character; if you enjoin, as our great Maſter has commanded, the neceſſity of devotion, of juſtice, of reſtitution, of truth, of meekneſs, of temperance, of ſelf-denial, of brotherly-love and charity, the people yawn and hear you with diſguſt; they go away, and like not to return to hear ſuch doctrine.

The theatre is thronged to, by the power of an artful, a bewitching, and dangerous adulation. It is ſaid to be a picture of the paſſions, and vices, and follies of men: but to get a crowded houſe, the painters are forced to condemn the vices which the audience have

not, and to flatter and foment thoſe they have. If they painted to the life the temper and the vices of thoſe who reſort to them, they would ſoon be offended, and withdraw, unwilling to be mortified with the view of their real ſelves. How dreadful, if ever the pulpit ſhould be debaſed in this manner! or ſhould ever verge towards any art of that kind! One had better never preach at all, or cry in a deſart, than be guilty of any ſuch groſs and criminal proſtitution.

6th, The want of pomp and ſhow in our manner of worſhip, tends perhaps to diminiſh the number of profeſſors. From the firſt eſtabliſhment of our conſtitution, the public ſervices of religion have been done with much ſimplicity, and without any thing of glare; nothing to ſtrike the ſenſes or entertain the imagination of the worſhippers. Not that I imagine there is any value in that worſhip which is altogether occaſioned by outward ſhow: no. It is the ſpirituality of worſhip which gives it value. "God is a ſpirit, and they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip him in ſpirit and in truth." But where the right inward principle is weak or awanting, external things may have ſome influence on religious profeſſion. And I believe our worſhip is leſs attractive, or at leaſt is performed in leſs decent places, than might at firſt be intended. This proceeds from the ſelfiſhneſs of the age, and their backwardneſs to be at any expence about ſacred things. Churches have been erected and endowed by the piety of our forefathers, in the times of poverty and ſimplicity: had theſe things been left to this age of riches and commerce, it may be very queſtionable whether or not they would ever have been done. We might have had none or fewer places of public worſhip, and inſtead of the ſcanty proviſions for the teachers of righteouſneſs, there might have been no ſuch proviſions at all.

The attachment of a country to religion may, in general, be eſtimated from the ſtate and condition of

its religious buildings. When men are under the power of devotion, well or ill directed, they scruple not at any expence in this matter: when they are cool and irreligious, they can be at none. The magnificence of such buildings, as it flows from a respect to religion, it tends also to preserve that respect. Men were formerly affected with external objects just as we now are. We look with a solemn and religious awe upon the grand and stately edifice within which I now stand; with a like veneration we behold the vast and magnificent ruins of many such domes and structures throughout the country. Our churches, in general, are diminutive objects, and have nothing striking about them. I believe there is no Christian country where these are in so sorry a state. They ought to bear some proportion to the splendour of the age, and to the public and private buildings in present use. But men live luxuriously "in their ceiled houses, while the house of God lies waste." This is both a proof of our irreligion, and it is also a cause of it. Have men religion? why, then, are the temples of the living God in ruin? why are the worshipping places in such a state of nastiness and disrepair? why in many places does it cost such a struggle to get them repaired in the cheap, the coarse, and slovenly manner in which they are? though there are laws long since made, and still in force for such reparations. Do not the bulk of mankind conclude at once that religion must be of very small importance, when they see the rich and great, who are reputed wise, so averse to be at any expence about it? do they not from this cause think slightly of religion, and turn indifferent about professing it? and do not the aged and delicate, and the people of better fashion, "forsake the assembling of themselves?" avowedly declaring, that our churches are so shattered and cold, that they endanger their health; so foul and ruinous, that they are nauseous and offensive to them; and that they want

a more neat and better ſheltered place to worſhip God in.

7th, I add, that religion is leſs profeſſed, becauſe of the low appointments of its teachers. I am not aſhamed to ſay it, becauſe I believe and know it to be true, that the poor proviſions of clergymen are a cauſe that the profeſſion of religion declines. Theſe proviſions, in the cheap and plain times they were modified, and for many years after, might be ſufficient or tolerable, eſpecially when there were ſuperadded to them the effects of the generoſity which was then in faſhion; but they are far from being ſo in this rich, expenſive, and ſelfiſh age.

In every nation, that is what we call civiliſed, the ideas of contempt and of ignorance are inſeparable from poverty, and the idea of knowledge is connected with riches. "This wiſdom (ſays Solomon,) have I ſeen under the ſun, and it ſeemed great unto me: there was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king againſt it, and beſieged it, and built bulwarks againſt it: and there was found in it a poor wiſe man, and he by his wiſdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that ſame poor man. Then ſaid I, wiſdom is better than ſtrength: nevertheleſs the poor man's wiſdom is deſpiſed, and his words are not heard." Agreeably to this ancient obſervation, the ſentiments of all men, and eſpecially of the rich, are, What ſenſe can you expect from one, who has ſo little to ſpend, who entertains ſo few, who fares ſo ſimply, and is ſo coarſely dreſſed? This has been long the common train of thinking; but never more ſo, perhaps never ſo much ſo as in the preſent times. It is wealth that procures reſpect; little matter whether it be derived from anceſtors, or ſuddenly acquired, or got by means right or wrong; the man poſſeſſed of it is held in honour; it gives him the reputation of wiſdom and knowledge. The clergy are poor, and therefore ſuppoſed to be ig-

norant; how can it, the world thinks, be worth the while to go to a place of worſhip, where a low and ignorant perſon leads in the ſervice! This, I believe, is the ſilent reaſoning of very great numbers. Hence it is in part, as well as from the cauſes mentioned above, that thoſe who are nearly upon a level with us, or not far above us, in their circumſtances and way of living, have commonly a decent profeſſion, and reſort to our churches: thoſe who are wealthy and abound in riches, have, in many places, almoſt totally deſerted us. They imagine that, as they have more riches, they have likewiſe got more knowledge than their teachers; or they are aſhamed to join in worſhip with, or ſeem to have their duty told them by thoſe who are ſo very far below them. Some time ago an attempt was made for a remedy, very inadequate to the laſt mentioned cauſe of irreligion: but though little was ſought, nothing was obtained; and it is likely no remedy may be thought of till it ſhall be too late; and then, as in other caſes, the wonder may be, that a thing ſo obviouſly neceſſary was ſo long neglected. Ah for the days of ancient ſimplicity! when virtue was practiſed, and religion was in faſhion; when men were not yet civiliſed into atheiſm, covetouſneſs, and ferocity of temper; when riches had not juſtled out the ſentiments of humanity and devotion; and when men were more afraid of being cruel and profane than of being poor, or appearing to be ſo.

There is ſtill another thing which may be it is expected I ſhould mention. Some weak and well-meaning people, joined and perhaps ſet on by others of a different caſt, would be very willing to aſcribe all the growing profaneneſs and irreligion to the clergy themſelves; lamenting, that the miniſters of the laſt age were much purer and better than we are. That the clergy may be in part blameable, may be owned. We never pretended to be perfect; and no man of

juſt diſcernment will expect, that we alone ſhall be totally exempted from the influence of theſe cauſes which tend to ſlacking the profeſſion of religion: but I will be bold to affirm, that the preſent clergy of Scotland, in general, are as unblemiſhed in their lives, have as much purity and regularity of manners, and are poſſeſſed of as wide an extent of knowledge of things human and divine, as any equal number of church-men of like fortunes in the known world: nay, I will farther ſay, that there are many of them, who, in point of ability, are no ways inferior to thoſe who are eminent in the other learned profeſſions in the nation. Their regularity in preaching, and diligence in their other miniſterial labours, are well known; and if it will give any eaſe and quiet to the complainers, I believe I can aſſure them, that, at the diſtance of a century hereafter, the preſent generation of miniſters will be juſt as much eſteemed and regretted as theſe now are who have lived a hundred years before them. "A prophet (it is ſaid) has not honour in his own country," and he may alſo miſs of it in his own time.

To all the above cauſes, the operation of which is ſo viſible and ſo certain, we may ſubjoin, that there are perhaps ſome who are wickedly active to promote impiety; who labour, by their looſe and worldly ſpeeches, to puſh forward the irreligion of the age. Are there really ſome "preſumptuous and ſelf-willed, who ſtrive to beguile unſtable ſouls, and ſeek to turn away men from the faith," by queſtioning the certainty, and vilifying the importance of divine revelation? are there ſome, who, having their hearts entirely ſet on this world, call upon others to neglect religion, and to purſue riches and honours as the chief or the only portion of man? are there ſome voluptuous perſons, who are buſy to exterminate all ſenſe and profeſſion of religion, to leſſen the horror of vice, to irritate the paſſions of men, and "to allure, through the luſts of the fleſh, through much wantonneſs, thoſe

who were almoſt eſcaped from them that live in error?" To any ſuch perſon, might not one ſpeak in the ſpirited and aweful words of the great apoſtle Paul to Elymas the ſorcerer, "O full of all ſubtilty and of all miſchief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of righteouſneſs, wilt thou not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" Behold the hand of God is lifted up above thy head; inſtead of being ſtruck at the ſight of thy fellow-creatures hurrying to the pit of deſtruction, wilt thou, as by a forcible arm, drive them into it? Stop, reverence thy God, pity thy periſhing brethren, and prevent the dreadful ruin of thine own immortal ſoul.

I have done—I have mentioned what appear to me to be ſome of the cauſes or occaſions of our irreligion; cauſes moſtly ariſing from the preſent ſtate and circumſtances of the world: Through a long proſperity, men are become indolent and thoughtleſs—Riches engroſs their affections, and conſume their time—the grave profeſſor meets with no honour or advantage above the profane—the public ſervices of religion are performed with an unattracting ſimplicity—and the teachers of it are poorly ſupported and deſpiſed.

It is not eaſy to find a remedy that ſhall prove effectual againſt this growing evil. In other caſes, it is ſaid, that when the nature and cauſes of the diſeaſe are once explored, it becomes eaſy to preſcribe the cure. I wiſh it were ſo in the caſe before us. But I violently ſuſpect, that before religion can be profeſſed with that decency and regularity which it merits, there muſt firſt be a great alteration in the outward ſtate of things (an alteration neither expected nor deſired), and ſtill as great a one in the hearts of men. I fear that we can hardly expect, in our times, either that humanity or that regard to God which were the true characteriſtics of the plain and unpoliſhed ages long ſince paſt. But nothing is impoſſible with God.

The moſt certain and ſpecific antidote againſt profaneneſs, in oppoſition to ſo many cauſes which accelerate its courſe, would be, "to live by faith and not by ſight:" I mean, to live in the habitual and overpowering belief of the reality, and of all the terrors and glories of the inviſible world: and we ought to have this faith ſtrong, in proportion to the ſtriking objects and cauſes that labour to ſeduce us. By vigorous and repeated efforts, we ought to keep eternity full in our view, that we may be proof againſt the powerful contagion and fallacious charms of the preſent world. If we have the reality of religion, how can we miſs to have the appearance of it! "If we have that faith which is the ſubſtance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not ſeen;" this will counter-work the cauſes that operate towards irreligion. "For this is that victory that overcometh the world, even our faith: and, who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jeſus is the ſon of God."

But I do not know how; we ſeem very much to want this faith. While we complain that religion has decayed, we are but half in earneſt. We are at the ſame time, perhaps with more keenneſs, wiſhing and praying for a ſtill greater influx of wealth into our country: wealth! which has already rendered us covetous and rapacious, has debauched our morals, eraſed religion out of our hearts, and left us but little of the outward ſemblance of it. How far we think and wiſh conſiſtently, if we have faith, and look upon eternity as our chief concern; how far it is poſſible to unite the keen commercial ſpirit and the ſpirit of devotion, I will not determine.

One thing I am ſure of, that a conſtant and lively exerciſe of faith is neceſſary to reſiſt the temptations of the preſent world. The air we breathe in, the company we talk with, is infectious; knowledge, virtue, religion, if detached from riches, are deſpiſed;

an avidity of riches appears in the air, the looks, the words of every one; nothing, nothing is commended but that which tends to ſtifle devotion, and wear off the appearance of it. Serious people ſtand by, ſee and lament the diſregard that is ſhown to religion; and themſelves are catched hold of, and carried downwards by the current of faſhion, as if it were by the reſiſtleſs force of a ſwelled and impetuous river. How often have I ſeen a man lament and abhor the danger of ſuch or ſuch a lucrative employment to the morals and religion of our youth; and yet, overborne by the ſtream of cuſtom, and tempted by the love of the world, put his own ſon to it! We can never withſtand ſuch force, and be firm in our religion, but by the energy of faith. We will prize our integrity, be content to be leſs rich, leſs regarded, and even to ſuffer affliction, if we have the unſhaken belief and hope of a happy immortality. This is the faith that ſupported Moſes. "By faith, Moſes, when he was come to years, refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharaoh's daughter; chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon; eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches than the treaſures in Egypt—for he had reſpect to the recompence of the reward."

My reverend fathers and brethren, I hardly chooſe to make any addreſs to you, founded on the things I have advanced. In a profane and corrupted age, you know the nature and importance of your paſtoral office; you do more; with firmneſs, and fidelity, and great labour, you diſcharge it. If the things delivered were juſt, you can well make theſe concluſions which may aſſiſt you to perſevere in your integrity, your ſtedfaſtneſs, and your uſeful endeavours to ſtem the torrent of irreligion. If your ſpirit is ſtirred in you at the coolneſs and indifference of the world; if you are grieved that many "forſake the aſſembling of themſelves;" if you are afflicted at the growth of

profaneneſs and irreligion; if yourſelves are unjuſtly loaded with the blame of that profaneneſs; if you have but poor appointments in proportion to your uſefulneſs, your great labour, and what ought to be your rank in ſociety—you have the peace of your own mind, the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and the aſſured hopes of being one day with that Jeſus whom you ſerve, and by whoſe faith you live. "In all things approve yourſelves as the miniſters of God. In much patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in diſtreſſes, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in faſtings, by pureneſs, by knowledge, by long-ſuffering, by kindneſs, by the Holy Ghoſt, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteouſneſs on the right hand and on the left, by honour and diſhonour, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold ye live; as chaſtened, and not killed; as ſorrowful, and yet always rejoicing; as poor, and yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet poſſeſſing all things."—"After all, it is but a little while, and ye ſhall have fulfilled the miniſtry which ye have received of the Lord. The end of all things is at hand, and the faſhion of this world paſſeth away." In this interval, let the words of your compaſſionate and heavenly Maſter give you courage and conſolation. "Theſe things have I ſpoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace; in the world ye ſhall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

I very ſhortly addreſs myſelf to you, the people that are preſent. My brethren, many, like Demas, have from worldy cauſes forſaken the profeſſion of religion. Will you follow their example? will you ſuffer yourſelves to be carried headlong by the faſhions of a profane and backſliding generation? where the faith of Jeſus is preached in purity, will you be offended at the ſimplicity of the worſhip, or the ſeve-

rity of the duties the gospel enjoins, or the low condition of its teachers, or because no worldly honour or gain is annexed to a religious profession? As Jesus said to his disciples, after many had gone back, and walked no more with him, "will ye also go away?" I am persuaded, that, notwithstanding the low ebb of religion, there are many of you who can answer with sincerity, and with a zeal like that of Simon Peter, "Lord, to whom shall we go but unto thee; thou hast the words of eternal life, and we know, and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God."

Let me beseech you, who profess religion, to live suitably to it. If you are as unjust and hard-hearted, as covetous and close-handed, as cruel and oppressive, as those who have no profession, you might as well throw aside the mantle too. You profess religion, and you practise wickedness; your temper and your actions are not hid from the discerning world; and I do not know but your wickedness is one of the great causes of irreligion. Profane men see, that, whatever you profess, your conduct, and the motives of it, are as base as their own; and you become the wretched means of hardening them in their profaneness. Let there be no ground for any such charge against you: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works," may honour and profess religion, "and glorify your Father who is in heaven."

To conclude: let us all address our prayers to the throne of grace, that God may pour down his Spirit to check the progress of irreligion, and revive his work, in these years, "when the love of many has waxed cold;" that the exalted redeemer may "ride forth gloriously, conquering and to conquer;" that his arrows may sharply pierce the hearts of men, and bring them in subjection unto himself; that the Almighty Spirit of grace may take hold of the hearts of men, and that this may appear by their upright prac-

tice and ſerious profeſſion; particularly, that God may enable us to be ſo influenced by faith, that we may never forſake religion through the love of this preſent world.

"Now unto him that is able to keep us from falling, and to preſent us faultleſs before the preſence of his glory with exceeding joy; to the only wiſe God our Saviour, be glory and majeſty, dominion and power, now and ever. Amen."

SERMON II.

SOBER AND RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE CONSIDERED AND RECOMMENDED.

Preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. JOHN BURNS, 1774.

WITH THE CHARGE.

Then they that feared the Lord, ſpake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it: and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.

And they ſhall be mine, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, in that day when I make up my jewels; and I will ſpare them as a man ſpareth his own ſon that ſerveth him.

Then ſhall ye return, and diſcern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that ſerveth God, and him that ſerveth him not. MAL. iii. 16, 17, 18.

REASON and ſpeech are the two principal faculties by which mankind are diſtinguiſhed from the animal creation; by the uſe of reaſon we find out truth, and by ſpeech we communicate it to others.

And our nature ſeems to be ſo formed, that juſt reaſoning enableth us to ſpeak diſtinctly, and ſocial converſation brightens and improves the faculty of reaſoning.

As this is the caſe, an inquiſitive perſon may, from the bare eſteem of knowledge, deſire to converſe with others; the ſerious and well-diſpoſed will, moreover, deſire that exerciſe, becauſe conference, if properly conducted, is an excellent mean of regulating our affections, and of improvement in the ſpiritual life.

To confer together, was therefore the habitual cuſtom of thoſe ſerious perſons mentioned in the text, "Then they that feared the Lord, ſpake often one to another:" Then, when the Jewiſh church was exceedingly corrupted: They had lately been delivered from a tedious captivity, but they ſoon tranſgreſſed the commandments, and deſpiſed the ordinance of their Deliverer. Their words "were ſhout againſt the Lord:" They ſaid, "it is vain to ſerve God, and what profit is it, that we have kept his ordinance, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hoſts?" They called the proud happy; yea "they that worked wickedneſs were ſet up," advanced to worldly honour and riches; yea "they that tempted God" by heinous ſins were delivered, delivered from the puniſhment which their crimes deſerved: for even then, the judges were partial in their deciſions, and "cauſed many to ſtumble at the law;" and therefore God threatens "to come near to them to judgment; and I will be a ſwift witneſs againſt the ſorcerers, and againſt the adulterers, and againſt falſe ſwearers, and againſt thoſe that defraud the hireling in his wages, and that oppreſs the widow and the fatherleſs, and that turn aſide the ſtranger from his right, and fear not me, ſaith the Lord of hoſts." Such was the profaneneſs, the profligacy, and iniquity of the Jews, in that corrupted age; but there was ſtill a number who feared the Lord; that is, who were ſincerely religious, who were influenced by the authority of God, and ſtudied to do his will: It is not to be doubted, that theſe would be at all poſſible pains to reclaim the impious, the debauched, and unjuſt, among whom they lived; but they were eſpecially careful to fortify their own minds under the hardſhips they ſuffered; to confirm one another in religion and goodneſs; to ſtrengthen their reſolution againſt the dangerous infection of vice; to have their underſtandings further improved in knowledge, and their hearts

deeper engaged in the love and practice of their duty. It was with these views, we may safely presume, that they "who feared the Lord, spake often one to another."

On occasions of this sort, we have had many good sermons on the excellency of the gospel, the utility of public instructors, the duty of a minister, the doctrines he ought to believe, and the method by which he should convey these doctrines into the minds of his hearers.

My design in this discourse is to mention some of the advantages which Christians tolerably enlightened, as the ministers of this Church generally are, may obtain by conversing often and freely with one another, while they have the fear of God before them, and keep within the boundaries of decency and good manners. What I am to deliver may, I think, merit some attention from students and younger brethren; and I hope it may also be profitable to those of my other hearers, who are disposed to weigh its importance, and to behave accordingly. I will not inquire any further, whether the text be the propereſt foundation for the remarks I am going to make, nor shall I be very solicitous about the order in which I offer these remarks.—To begin then; I think it manifest,

1st, That by free conversation, an ability of reasoning justly, is best and most successfully acquired: "Neither the laboured treatises of the learned, nor the set discourses of the eloquent, are able of themselves to teach the use of reason: it is the habit alone of reasoning that can make a reasoner; and men can never be better invited to the habit, than when they find pleasure in it." Nor can they ever so really find that pleasure which invites and guides to the habit of reasoning, as by conversing with their friends. To teach us to think and reason, dry rules and directions were long ago prescribed, and some people have, from age to age,

attempted to bring them in faſhion: but do they who inſiſt upon the utility of theſe rules, and know them beſt, reaſon always with the greateſt accuracy? Are not their reaſonings commonly as vague, as feeble and incoherent, as thoſe of untutored, and undiſciplined people? The rules may be exact enough, and if one can reaſon already, they may aſſiſt him to detect quibbles, and from being impoſed upon by the jargon of words, or the ſpecious ſophiſtry of argument: but one may ſafely venture to affirm, that, to this day, theſe rules have never, in any inſtance, taught the young mind to reaſon correctly. It was indeed the height of folly to expect that they could ever have that effect. Is a child taught to walk by ſpeeches and directions from his nurſe? Or, is a perſon taught to ſwim, by full and accurate diſcourſes upon the whole art of ſwimming? It is inconteſtibly by exerciſe and habit, that the firſt is taught to walk and the other to ſwim: and, in like manner, it is by reaſoning that a habit of reaſoning juſtly is acquired. Converſation whettens the mind; and, as "iron ſharpeneth iron, ſo doth a man the mind and countenance of his friend." For,

2d, Frequent conference with one another, hath a ſtrong and direct tendency to improve the mind in human and divine knowledge; perhaps a ſtronger tendency than any thing elſe. In compariſon of it, or at leaſt without being aſſiſted by it, the ſtudy of books is but a languid and fruitleſs affair. Conference warms us, it exerciſeth us, and at the ſame time inſtructs us. When we confer with a ſenſible man, he preſſeth hard upon us, he woundeth us on every ſide, his imagination raiſeth up ours to a more than ordinary pitch: ſtimulated by jealouſy, by glory, by contention, we are elevated to ſomething above ourſelves: the ſoul is rouſed from its lethargy, and all its ſtrength is exerted: the air, the looks and countenance of him we converſe with, keep it on the ſtretch: and, frequently, before one word hath been ſaid on a ſubject

about which we were in the dark, we have a clearer and fuller view of it than ever we had formerly: light breaks in ſuddenly upon the mind, before our fellow-inquirer hath ſo much as ſpoken; and in a manner which is real, and felt, though I confeſs not eaſily or ſhortly to be explained, we ſee and know at once what we wonder we did not ſee before.—In the progreſs of the conference, the difficulty is propoſed, the queſtion is ſtated, a cloud of words which hide the ſubject is removed, the ſimple truth appears, clear and ſtriking views of it become obvious, the mind is enlightened, we acquire new and valuable knowledge, and rejoice in the new and pleaſing acquiſition. We may weary ourſelves in poring over many bulky and tireſome volumes for months or years, and not attain ſo much real knowledge as we might receive with pleaſure in a few hours by a ſpirited converſation with a man of judgment; and why ſhould we depend on books only for that knowledge, the ſeeds of which we have within ourſelves; ſeeds which may be cheriſhed by converſing with our friends, and gradually nurtured up to maturity by the counter-warmth of impartial and friendly debate.

That by conference we may acquire the moſt clear and diſtinct view of things, I might further ſhow by many particular conſiderations: for inſtance, read over to a child any ſtory, read it to him in the plaineſt manner, he doth not, he cannot underſtand it; tell me, he ſays, what it is you have read: Speak it over to him face to face, as in familiar converſation, and he then underſtands it at once. The caſe is much the ſame with men, whether in early or in mature years: by familiar converſation they apprehend things the moſt eaſily; by the living language their attention is attracted, and a clearer and more diſtinct notion of a ſubject is conveyed to them than they are able to receive from books where that ſame ſubject is fully and perhaps methodically treated. Beſides, there is ſci-

ence, which, if we have either difcovered ourfelves, or if we have got it in books only, we cannot all at once depend upon it: It may feem very plaufible; it is new to us, and it is entertaining; but we hefitate to embrace it haftily; we fufpect it may be erroneous, till, having conſulted our more enlightened friends, we find what is its ſterling value by the touch-ſtone of converſation. This hath often been experienced by inquiſitive perſons in the younger time of life.

I have ſaid that conference is an excellent means of attaining knowledge; I think alſo that it puts a perſon in the faireſt way to be convinced of his erroneous opinions, and to part with them. It oftentimes happens, that, when one ſtudies in ſolitude, he embraceth wild and fantaſtical opinions; converſation opens his views, and gives his faculties a vigorous play; it puts him upon turning his notions on every ſide, and holds them up to a light which diſcovers thoſe miſtakes that might have remained hid from him in the gloom and obſcurity of retirement. Enlightened by debating with his friends, he is convinced, that, by a bias to which indeed all men are liable, he had bended his opinions to ſuit his inclinations; he candidly renounceth theſe opinions, and cheerfully ſubmits to the ſtriking evidence of truth.

I add, that the knowledge acquired and improved by conference is the moſt methodical, the moſt profitable, and it ſticks the faſteſt with us. What we get by reading, unleſs we recollect and converſe it over, is oftentimes almoſt as ſoon forgotten as read; and I believe every one will find, upon reflection, that the moſt valuable parts of knowledge he is poſſeſſed of, have been acquired, not ſo much by books as in company, or he was ſet in purſuit of it by hints from ſome friend, or he applied to it with a view to make a proper figure in company, and converſation hath convinced him of its value, hath enabled him to digeſt it into order, and of courſe hath made him to remember

it. I do not deny that there are many who by reading have attained a great variety of knowledge; but commonly it is a dark, a jumbled and confuſed knowledge: they know, but they know without a method and without a plan; their thoughts are unconnected, and their knowledge undigeſted. This confuſion in thinking may be partly owing to other cauſes, but it is unqueſtionably, in a great meaſure, owing to this, that theſe poring ſcholars have been too ſeldom in company, they have not, by conference, learned to arrange their thoughts in a proper order. When I ſay this, I ſuppoſe, as I have all along done, that thoſe who may hope to improve their minds by conference, have a real deſire of knowledge, and are careful both to read and to meditate in their retirements. To ſeek for improvement in ſolitude and company alternately, is the proper way to increaſe our ſtock of knowledge, and to have diſtinct views of things. The knowledge which is acquired in our ordinary companies at leaſt, (and not in thoſe of ſcholars) is commonly ſuperficial: Knowledge acquired by reading only, may be deep and various, but it is, for the moſt part, apt to be ſomewhat confuſed. Theſe are high acquirements;—accuracy in reaſoning,—advancement in knowledge,—conviction of our miſtakes,—method and order in thought and expreſſion,—keeping the beſt knowledge upon the memory,—which may all be had or greatly improved by conference. Should not this proſpect engage us to ſpeak often one to another? To acquire knowledge ſhould be the aim of every man, and particularly it ſhould be the aim of miniſters of the Goſpel. Whatever buſineſs a perſon is engaged in, he ought to be intent on making improvements in it. In companies, the farmer talks about huſbandry, the merchant about trade, the politician about ſchemes of government, the ſoldier about encampments, about ſieges, and battles, and retreats; different artificers, each about new and further improvements in his re-

ſpective buſineſs. Shall enlightened Chriſtians, ſhall miniſters of the Goſpel ſeek for no further increaſe in human and divine knowledge? Shall they alone remain in a drowſy and torpid ſtate? Shall they reſt ſatisfied, as if they had already attained perfection either in knowledge or in practice?

Next to our proneneſs to ſin, I cannot help thinking that what we have moſt to regret, is, that we have not been early ſet upon the right road to purſue knowledge. The misfortune, I believe, is pretty general: I am ſure there are many who think and feel that they have great reaſon to lament and complain of it. What an unbounded proſpect, what an extenſive field of knowledge lies before us; a field rich with every thing that is uſeful, and pleaſing, and ornamental to the mind of man; a field, of which great parts are, it is likely, never to be trodden by us; ſome of which, at leaſt, we might with pleaſure have ſurveyed, had we been timeouſly ſet upon the right track. Is there no remedy, is there no way to retrieve this misfortune, at leaſt in ſome degree? Muſt we check our natural, our ſtrong deſire of knowledge? Muſt we be content to remain for ever fixed in the ſame ignorance? If there is a remedy at all, it muſt be fetched, in a great meaſure, from a friendly and ſpirited intercourſe with one another. Travellers to the ſame, or different parts of the world, uſe to compare the obſervations they make. Why ſhould not men, who travel in the intellectual world, if I may ſo ſpeak; who are in purſuit of the ſame, or different parts of knowledge, do the ſame? Why ſhould they not, in this ſenſe, be willing to communicate and willing alſo to learn? And may not he who juſtly values his great and improved talents, learn ſomething even from thoſe who differ from him, and who, in many reſpects, are confeſſedly inferior to him? Men chooſe commonly to aſſociate with thoſe who are believed to be of the ſame opinions with themſelves; but to con-

verſe with thoſe who are known to differ from us is a better method, both to find out truth and to increaſe in knowledge: As by the colliſion of hard bodies fire is generated, ſo, by the oppoſition of ſentiments in debate, reaſon is ſharpened, and truth inveſtigated. Decency in contradicting is to be obſerved; but amongſt thoſe who know one another, and converſe together for mutual improvement, there is no great occaſion for much ceremony. Much ceremony mars the purpoſe, and is indeed nauſeous. One would rather chooſe to frequent the company of thoſe who oppoſe and ruffle him, than of thoſe who are ſcrupulouſly afraid to contradict him. It is a dull and hurtful pleaſure to have to do with that ſort of literary people, who, inſtead of correcting our notions, inſipidly ſmile in our face, ſeem to admire us, and to approve of every thing we ſay. I proceed to mention,

3d, Another advantage derived from conference, or "ſpeaking often to one another;" which is, That it confirms or reſtores good agreement, harmony, and peace. The cauſe of dryneſs and diſcord amongſt us is commonly either a ſuſpicion of wrong principles, or of ſome great blemiſh in moral character: theſe ſuſpicions, when happily they are little more than ſuſpicions, will be either completely removed, or at leaſt gradually weakened by converſation and acquaintance.

We ſuſpect one another either of wild and enthuſiaſtic, or of lax and unſound principles. Moſt certainly we ought to be at the utmoſt pains to have ſound principles in religion and morality, forming all theſe principles by the ſcriptures of truth; but though we ſtrive ever ſo honeſtly to do ſo, it is impoſſible that the thoughts of thinking men, on ſome abſtruſe points, can be quite alike, and run exactly in the ſame channel. It is great weakneſs to expect this; it is great folly and unreaſonable ſeverity to urge it: and when civil or eccleſiaſtical rulers ſtrictly preſs an uniformity of belief, they counterwork their own deſign; by

exacting too much, they gain nothing at all; nay, they drive men into hypocriſy or ſcepticiſm. There is, perhaps, no religious ſociety where the doctrine eſtabliſhed is leſs ſincerely believed, than in that very ſociety which impoſeth an abſolute neceſſity of receiving implicitly, and believing blindly, whatſoever it hath aſſumed the authority to declare ſound and orthodox. A thinking perſon can never reſign his underſtanding ſo entirely as to allow himſelf to be guided like a beaſt, whereſoever thoſe in authority ſhall pleaſe to lead him. Rulers may by commands direct our external actions; but they play the fool, the bigot, the tyrant, when they command us to believe. If a few hundreds of ſtudious perſons were poſſeſſed of a preciſe ſameneſs of belief in every point of doctrine, this would be a wonderful thing indeed; if it did exiſt, it would be in the judgment of a ſuperior Being, a greater miracle than ever was exhibited. Conſult the hiſtory of the Chriſtian Church, the hiſtory of Popiſh countries, and you will find that the rigorous impoſing and exacting a ſtrict ſameneſs of belief hath commonly produced ſcepticiſm, infidelity, loathing at religion, and ſometimes, I fear, atheiſm itſelf. In this reſpect, therefore, very conſiderable latitude hath been allowed in well regulated ſocieties, Jewiſh and Chriſtian: but perhaps we of this reformed Church differ leſs in our manner of thinking than in our turn of expreſſion; or, if ſome do really differ, the difference is overlooked, and paſſeth for nothing, whilſt they keep up a manly familiarity and friendly acquaintance. Did it ever happen, that a man was ſevere againſt the heterodoxy of one with whom he kept up a good underſtanding? Was it ever known, that a friend was extremely diſguſted with the principles of his friend, whilſt the friendſhip laſted? The misfortune is, we firſt ſuſpect a man's principles, and then we avoid him; we avoid him ſtill, and the ſuſpicion grows; we pore upon, and it ſticks faſt with

us. Had men of ſeemingly different opinions always met and explained themſelves, their differences, at leaſt in material points, would very often have appeared to be much about words, and many idle wranglings and diſputes which have made ſo much noiſe in the world, and ſwelled the heavy volumes of ancient and modern times, would, to the unſpeakable advantage and honour of Chriſtianity, never have been heard of.

To "ſpeak often one to another" doth alſo procure mutual peace, as it removes ſecret grudges, and the ſuſpicions we are apt to entertain about the moral character of one another. A man's ſincerity, or the purity of his morals, are often ſuſpected when there is little or no ground for any ſuch ſuſpicion; we have been miſinformed, and have taken up an ill report againſt him; our not having acquaintance with him is the cauſe why we think ill of him; when we come to know a little above the ſprings of his actions, and the tenour of his conduct, we often diſcover our miſtake, and begin to think better of him. We are ſcared at a man's ſuppoſed temper and vices; we converſe with him, and our fear abates. Oftentimes the vices and defects which thoſe we are ſtrangers to are charged with, are like thoſe objects which appear deformed and terrible at a diſtance, but, when we have approached them, their deformity and terribleneſs diſappear. How common a thing is it to entertain a bad opinion of men, which, upon a little acquaintance, we ſee was groundleſs! This happens every day, and it ſhould make us cautious and ſlow to think ill of any perſon with whom we are but little acquainted; and if we have ill thoughts of him, we ſhould try if they may not be removed, by ſtriking up an acquaintance, and converſing with him. I proceed,

4th, Another great advantage which the fearers of God derive from conference, is, growth and improvement in the ſpiritual life. To this end it muſt indeed be wiſely conducted: The words we hear in conver-

ſation, have a ſurpriſing influence upon the turn of the mind, the feelings of the heart, and our behaviour in life. How often hath an impure hint, perhaps unmeaningly thrown out, polluted the mind of the hearer, given riſe or growth to diſorderly appetites or paſſions, which have ſoon after been exerted into action, and iſſued in his remorſe and ſhame. When this happens to be the caſe, hath not the unwary ſpeaker reaſon of deep mourning and regret, and hath not the unfortunate hearer reaſon to repent that ever he was in ſuch company, though it may have been that of his near relations or intimate friends? Might it not be an effectual check to all ſuch dangerous converſation, did the ſpeaker pauſe a little, and conſider, What miſchief may this word, this ſtory occaſion? What ſin may be committed in the conſequence of it? What ſhame, what puniſhment may ſome unſtable perſon be brought to ſuffer by it?—How often alſo, and I ſpeak it with pleaſure, how often hath a ſimple hint raiſed and cheriſhed the devout and friendly affections,—caught hold of a man who was tottering, and juſt upon the verge of falling into ſome foul tranſgreſſion, been the means of eſtabliſhing him in virtue, and fixing him in a laudable and Chriſtian courſe of action? Hath not many a man felt the emotions of gratitude ſtirring in his breaſt, by being put in mind of God's loving kindneſs toward him? Even an accidental expreſſion concerning the excellency of religion, and the ſurpaſſing love of Jeſus, or concerning the dignity, the reality, and beauty of virtue, amidſt all the preſent corruption and diſſipation of the world, is often not without effect. It awakens in the ſoul admiration and love to God; it kindles a warm deſire of virtue in the heart of the hearer, and cheriſhes that ſame deſire in the heart of the ſpeaker. How often hath ſoft perſuaſion pacified wrath, and ſtemmed the impetuous tide of paſſion! How often hath it excited pity and commiſeration, and allayed the

boiſterous intention of revenge and cruelty! How often have the words and countenance of a friend cooled the boilings of paſſion, made a perſon to controul his criminal deſires, to alter his purpoſe, and preſerve his innocence! How beautiful, how forcible and ſalutary are ſuch right words, how ſtudiouſly to be ſpoken, how faithfully to be remembered! "A wholeſome tongue is a tree of life;—a word fitly ſpoken is like apples of gold in pictures of ſilver;—the words of the wiſe are as goads, and as nails faſtened in ſure places by the maſters of the aſſemblies; let therefore no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the uſe of edifying; be ye filled with the Spirit, ſpeaking among yourſelves mutually; let the word of Chriſt dwell in you richly, in all wiſdom teaching and admoniſhing one another."

Were we diſpoſed to ſo ſalutary an exerciſe, we could be at no loſs for materials to converſe upon, which have a direct tendency to our mutual improvement in the ſpiritual life,—to warm our hearts with the love of God, and with the love of one another, to give us the command of our paſſions, and to bend us to the practice of righteouſneſs. Might we not diſcourſe on the nature and beauty of every Chriſtian virtue, the obligations to the practice of it, derived from the light of nature, and the farther obligations to it, from the Goſpel of Chriſt? By this means, would we not learn to have clear and preciſe notions of every virtue, and would we not be the better able to recommend virtue, in all its particular branches, to the choice and purſuit of one another? Would not ſerious converſation on ſuch ſubjects, cheriſh the devout affections, inſpire us with the love of God, and teach us reſignation to his will? Did we in the fear of God, "ſpeak often one to another," concerning the compaſſion and love of Chriſt to a periſhing world, would not our hearts burn within us, whilſt we meditated and ſpoke of him? Would not our faith in him

be ſtrengthened, our love increaſed, and our hearts inflamed with a ſtrong deſire to reſemble and obey him? By converſing about the glories of the other world, would we not learn to bear with contentment the ills of this life, and to become more indifferent with reſpect to its tranſient joys? Would we not by divine grace, behave in the whole of our conduct, as "ſeeing him who is inviſible?" Would we not believe and feel the eternal world to be as real as if we already beheld it with our eyes? and would we not gradually be more and more influenced by that "faith which is the ſubſtance of things not ſeen, and the evidence of things hoped for?" And would we not have to ſay, from comfortable experience, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith?" In ſhort, by ſerious and religious conference, what great improvements in goodneſs might we make? Would we not become better men and better Chriſtians, advancing to the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt?—Edified by different friends, we would have it to ſay, in imitation of the virtuous and thoughtful Roman emperor, "From this man I firſt learned to think reverendly of God, and of his righteous adminiſtration; from that man I learned ſubmiſſion to the will of providence, and the art of contentment in every condition of life: By one, I was taught to have a reliſh for the beauty of manners, to perceive the dignity and reality of virtue, and the beauty of holineſs; by another, I was taught, through divine grace, to bridle my paſſions, to be eaſily reconciled to thoſe who had offended me, to ſet a due value upon the virtues of others, to make allowance for their imperfections, and ſincerely to love them: By the great pains which one friend took upon me, my mind was gradually opened, and at length I had a raviſhing view of the Goſpel ſcheme of ſalvation; by another I learned to ſee the vanity of worldly pleaſures, to ſtudy the art of ſelf-recollection, to be intent upon mine own im-

provement, and to aim at Chriſtian perfection." And we might have it to add, with the ſame devout and illuſtrious writer, I owe it to the providence of God, that ever I was acquainted with ſuch perſons.

And here one cannot but lament the falſe delicacy and corruption of Chriſtians in the preſent age, which in ſome reſpects is ſunk into degeneracy, even below the ſtate of the heathen world: Heathens, when they met together, uſed to diſcourſe concerning the nature of virtue, the chief happineſs of man, the being and providence of their ſuppoſed gods; they talked of their ſupreme divinity; with him they began, with him they ended, of him too were their ſongs. How different from this is the temper and practice of Chriſtians, with reſpect to the true God, in whom they pretend to believe! I ſpeak not of nominal Chriſtians; of them it is to be feared, that God is not in all their thoughts, for he is not in their mouths, unleſs when they blaſpheme him; I ſpeak of thoſe who make ſome profeſſion of being Chriſtians: When a company of ſuch convene, how are they employed? Why, thoſe who have ridiculouſly uſurped to themſelves the ſtile of good company, call for the gaming table, and from diſſipation or avarice waſte the precious hours in a dull round of inſipid play.—Hence the unbecoming, the lamentable and growing ignorance of that claſs of people; an abuſe of company! a murdering of time, which I truſt will ever be diſcountenanced by the clergy of Scotland.—And on a cheerful or a grave occaſion, where gaming is improper, what do our faſhionable people talk about? If one of the company happens to ſpeak of God, or religion, or providence, or a future ſtate, he is almoſt thought to have fallen into an impropriety of behaviour, and to have tranſgreſſed the rules of good-breeding; nay, ſwayed, it ſeems, by the faſhion of the age, even the teachers of wiſdom and righteouſneſs, if they happen to be in company with their hearers or ſcholars after

the ſolemn lecture or diſcourſe is delivered, ſeldom ſpeak a word about what they have been publicly engaged in; juſt as if they were aſhamed to appear wiſe and good, or ſuſpected that, if they ventured to converſe on a grave ſubject, their lameneſs might be detected. Not only ſpiritual ſubjects are juſtled out of converſation, but ſcarce any thing that is manly or ſenſible is admitted into it; ſo that unleſs there be ſome piece of frivolous news, or if ſome ſtroke of wit or pleaſantry, or of impertinent banter and ridicule is not fallen upon, the company are drowſy and half aſleep; they yawn and ſtare at one another; they are ſilent and have nothing to ſay. Such is commonly our behaviour in company, and ſuch was the behaviour of men in ancient times.

Hence it is that the inſtructive works concerning religion and morality, which antiquity hath tranſmitted down to us, and which will be the ſtudy, the wonder, and the entertainment of men of erudition, while the world laſts, are written in form of dialogue or conference, and in that form they appear quite eaſy and natural; becauſe they, in fact, diſcourſed about ſuch things, and are in thoſe writings repreſented to the life; but ſhould we attempt to write any thing grave in that form, it would appear altogether unnatural and forced; it would be a contradiction to the preſent manners; becauſe it is rarely that any ſerious ſubject is canvaſſed in our modern converſations.

One cauſe of this falſe delicacy and abuſe of company, may perhaps be, that in the laſt age, and later too perhaps, people talked of ſpiritual things, who had too little diſcretion, or had narrow views, or were of a factious and party ſpirit, or were actuated by low and worldly deſigns; but becauſe a good thing hath been unhappily abuſed, ſhall it afterwards be for ever avoided? Will not thoſe who fear God confer with one another, and by a prudent uſe of ſo edifying an exerciſe, ſtrive to reſcue it from diſrepute, and bring

it once more in fashion? And if sensible and religious conversation were again counted polite and fashionable, we need not fear but it would be cultivated.

I cannot help thinking, that, if ever a general reformation of the world shall take place, the way of conversing in companies will be much altered from what it is at present. This may be the effect of the world's being reformed, but it may also surprisingly contribute to it as a cause.

It is not necessary or even expedient, that the sincere fearers of God should speak to one another about spiritual things only. Divine objects, if long and stedfastly beheld, must needs impair and weaken the sense of mortals. The conversation may be varied; it may at times be turned to other parts of knowledge which are both pleasing and profitable, and still there may be room enough left for innocent mirth and gaiety.

The above are advantages which all men who have discretion and some degree of knowledge, such as the public instructors of religion, may obtain by free conference amongst themselves: I say among themselves, or such as themselves. When we converse with those called the upper part of the world, it may not be always safe to indulge ourselves in the freedom of conversation; it may be rather proper to be somewhat upon the reserve. The prudent will often keep silence, and keep in his tongue with a bridle; and it would be indelicate to say, how much frequent converse with mean, poor, and uninstructed people, which, by humanity, and religion, and our office, we are obliged to do, flattens the spirit, corrupts the taste, and is apt to hurt the temper.

I might add, that from friendly conference men derive consolation under all the ills of life. Inquisitive and virtuous minds, in any country, are comparatively few, and commonly their condition is not opulent; but while they successfully contribute to im-

prove the mind, enlarge the underſtanding, and increaſe the virtue and the faith of one another, they are mutually comforted, and will hardly be ſenſible of the ills they ſuffer; as an illuſtrious band of kinſmen or brothers, they are knit together in love, and bear one another's burdens. And what will alleviate diſtreſs, if it is not the ſympathy, the counſel, and the aſſiſtance of wiſe and tender hearted friends, mutually given and received? Conſidering themſelves as ſtrangers,—as exiles in a foreign land,—as the citizens of another country, they jointly travel homewards to the city they belong to, they intereſt themſelves in the affairs of one another, and like pilgrims croſſing an impetuous river, they paſs through life braced, as it were, in the arms of one another. Mutually ſtrengthened, and comforted, and united unto Jeſus, they know they ſhall never periſh; they ſtand unbended under the preſſures of life, waiting, and encouraging one another to wait for the "end of their faith, the ſalvation of their ſouls."

I might alſo have added, That there are ſubjects which are proper to be diſcuſſed only in private circles. Religious knowledge hath been diſtinguiſhed into thoſe points which may at all times, and before all men, be fully and clearly explained; and thoſe, which are to be very warily touched upon. The plain duties and faith of the goſpel are the firſt; knotty points and controverſies, which take up ſo much room in moſt theological ſyſtems, are the laſt: And what title hath a common audience to hear diſcourſes on controverted points? What purpoſe can this ſerve? Why are ſuch things offered in public? Is it that no part of the counſel of God may be ſuppreſſed, nor the people defrauded? But you impart to them no real knowledge, you only amuſe them with hard words, for they cannot judge of controverſy; many of them have no opinion about thoſe points concerning which they raiſe the greateſt clamour; they take

their notions by rebound from others. You do a thing perilous and inconvenient; you confound the diſtinction which the Apoſtle makes between milk and ſtrong meat; you counter-act his precept, to avoid queſtions and contentions, which he ſays are vain and unprofitable, and do gender ſtrifes; you do the people great harm; you diſtract their minds, and divert their attention from things that are intelligible, neceſſary, and uſeful to them: And if ſome be ſo diſputatious, ſo polemically diſpoſed, that one way or other they muſt dip in controverſy, it were ſurely more proper for them to diſpute in private with thoſe who are capable to perceive and weigh the force of metaphyſical arguments, and who will either ſubmit to their evidence, or elſe return anſwers to them.

I paſs over other great advantages to be acquired by unreſerved and friendly converſation. It teacheth us to be eaſy, and to keep temper when we are contradicted,—it leads us into the knowledge of men and manners,—it enables us to ſpeak of human duties with judgment and preciſion,—it mitigates the ills of life, and heightens its joys;—in ſome meaſure, it ſupplies the place of friendſhip, a thing ſo rare, that we may paſs through the ſilent, and the buſy ſcenes of life, without ever meeting with an undiſputed inſtance of it.—The advantages already mentioned,—accuracy in thinking,—progreſs in the moſt profitable knowledge,—mutual harmony and good agreement,—growth in the ſpiritual life,—conſolation and inward peace, are momentous and deſirable. The deſire of them may well incline thoſe who fear God to "ſpeak often one to another;" and if, with a ſincere deſire to grow in grace and knowledge, we converſe with one another; if we ſtrive for improvement, we ſtrive not alone, nor in vain; God himſelf will aſſiſt us by his Spirit. When the two aſtoniſhed and dejected diſciples, going to Emaus, communed together by the way, and reaſoned concerning their Maſter, who three days

before had been torn from them, condemned to death, and crucified; Jesus himself drew near, and went with them; he expounded unto them the scriptures concerning himself, removed their sadness, and warmed their hearts with joy; and they said one to another, "Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked to us by the way, and opened to us the scriptures?" If our endeavours toward spiritual perfection are sincere, will not God's Spirit, in like manner, enlighten and assist us?—Our endeavours to be wise and good, are taken notice of and recorded, for "when they who feared the Lord, spake often one to another, the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written for those who feared the Lord, and thought upon his name." The fearers of God are precious in his sight, they are his special treasure, and sure of immortal glory; "and they shall be mine, saith the Lord, in the day when I make up my jewels."—Having the knowledge and the comfortable sense of spiritual things, the troubles of life will fall the lighter on their heads, and God may, in his love, save them even from the chastisements which they deserve; "and I will spare them, (saith he) even as a man spareth his own son that serveth him."—But in this life, there is, with respect to prosperity and adversity, and all external things, very little difference to be observed betwixt the state of the righteous and that of the wicked. The great day of retribution approacheth, when God will sever between the sheep and the goats, between the precious and the vile; "Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not."

May the Spirit of the Lord rest upon us, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord: May he grant us to grow in grace, and that our lips may keep and disperse knowledge, and to his name be immortal praise. Amen.

THE CHARGE.

Dear Sir,

It is usual to administer some advices to young ministers in your present situation: I am perfectly sure, that in view of entering on that difficult office which you have now accepted of, you have, in the fear of the Lord, by communing with your own heart in solitude, and by speaking often to your best friends, carefully formed a plan of your future conduct in private life, and how you are to discharge the several parts of your ministerial function: and, indeed, it must be confessed, that if you had not done this before-hand, you could but little avail yourself of a few transient directions from this pulpit, though these should be ever so proper, and administered with ever so much warmth of friendship and affection. However, in compliance with the established practice, I shall take the liberty to offer a few things, at present, to your serious consideration.

It is a happy circumstance in your settlement, that you are both presented by the Patron, and have also been the choice of the Congregation. This is the greater a proof of your prudence, and that you acquit yourself well in pulpit, as many of this people have, for a considerable time, been personally acquainted with you, and all of them have had experience of your gift of prayer and talents in preaching. You will retain the esteem of your Congregation by those same means by which you were so happy as to acquire it; and the Parish will no doubt expect from you an unblameableness in private behaviour, and a diligence in your public performances, which may be suitable to that cheerfulness and harmony, with which they have called you to be their Minister.

The temper, or habit of mind, which you ought uniformly to bear towards the souls of your numer-

ous flock, ſhould conſiſt of pity and good will: it was pity and good will which moved your glorious Maſter to undertake the work of man's redemption; you cannot err in forming yourſelf upon ſo illuſtrious an example; "let the ſame mind be in you, that was in Chriſt Jeſus." Pity and love to the periſhing and precious ſouls of men, will animate you to the faithful diſcharge of your ſacred and laborious office.

You are to be the ſpeaker in this Congregation; and moſt certainly it is a great undertaking for any one, to ſtand up and charge himſelf with ſpeaking to a numerous aſſembly, concerning things of infinite moment, where he alone is to be liſtened to, and every other perſon is to remain ſilent; for there is hardly one of his audience who is not more quick-ſighted to obſerve the faults than the merits of the ſpeaker; and theſe faults, however ſmall or few, are like to eclipſe the beauty of the diſcourſe, and to mar the effect of all that is right and forcibly advanced. This, this, however ſlightly it may be thought of, is a weighty and arduous office: but be not diſcouraged; God upholds and ſtrengthens his ſervants.

You are to lead the devotions of this Congregation: in your prayers you ſpeak to God, in behalf of your people, and along with them.—As our Church hath not received or allowed of ſet forms, prayer is often deemed to be a ſubaltern part of the miniſterial buſineſs, and is therefore apt to be too careleſsly ſtudied; and yet to worſhip God in a ſocial manner is, or ought to be, the chief end of our aſſembling in public. Many judicious and devout men have wiſhed that we had public meetings for prayer and praiſe only: This would be a ſolemn acknowledgment of our dependence on God; and it might lead us to be at more pains in ſtudying thoſe prayers which are to be offered up to God in our aſſemblies.—You will judge it neceſſary to ſtudy carefully, not only the matter, but the manner alſo, of your public prayers; you will

ſeek for acceptable words, that you may always perform this important part of your office with devotion and with decency.

You are to preach ſtatedly to this Congregation: In preaching you ſpeak from God to your people; you declare the meſſage which you have received from your Lord and Maſter; and if you have a ſenſe of God habitually on your mind, and have pity and love to the periſhing ſouls of men, your "doctrine will drop as the rain, your ſpeech will diſtil as the dew, as the ſmall rain upon the tender herb, and as the ſhowers upon the graſs;" poſſeſſed of integrity of heart and manners, and ſhowing yourſelf a pattern of good works, you will enforce the ſeveral doctrines of your ſacred function, not with the vain pomp of ſhowy eloquence, but with the far more powerful perſuaſion of active and exemplary virtue: You will ſoften the ſeverity of precept, with the eaſe and familiarity of converſation; and by generouſly mixing with the meaneſt committed to your care, you will inſinuate the inſtructor under the air of the companion.

With reſpect to the ſubjects you are to preach upon, there is one obvious rule which ought to direct you, and every miniſter of Chriſt; and it is this: To preach oftenеſt on thoſe ſubjects which are oftenеſt mentioned in the Bible, and eſpecially in the New-Teſtament: Theſe, you know, are the original and everlaſting love of God, the grace of Chriſt to ignorant and miſerable men, love to God, faith in Jeſus, love to men, ſelf-denial, and a holy converſation, conſiſting of love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, truth, juſtice, meekneſs, temperance, and other particular fruits of the Spirit. The views which the ſcripture gives us of the free love of God, and of the compaſſion of Chriſt to a periſhing world, are proper to excite in the ſoul love to God, faith in the Redeemer, wonder, gratitude, and indeed every emotion and expreſſion of faith and love.

If you lay before your people these views of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, how can they want obedience to him, or possibly forget his love?

You will teach them, that the whole duty of man consists in yielding a cheerful obedience to those two great commandments which are the sum of the Moral Law, "Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." This is the law which Christ came not destroy, but to fulfil; this law he came to magnify and make it honourable: Every fact that is narrated, every doctrine that is revealed in the Gospel, tends to inculcate obedience to this original, everlasting, and immutable law; every plan of teaching, that may tend to weaken the obligations to obey this Moral Law, is unscriptural, and must be wrong and dangerous. "Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law."

By the harmonious Call which you have got, you will have the more confidence to declare to this people all the counsel of God; in particular, to show that saving faith is always accompanied with a holy practice. From the corruption of nature, some people are averse to hear of the necessity of mortification, of repentance, justice, restitution, and a holy life; but "whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear," you are, in faithfulness to your trust, wisely to declare to them the absolute necessity of those duties. As you desire that your great Master may be "alway with you, to the end," you are to "teach them to observe all things whatsoever he hath commanded." Receive this advice in the inspired words of the apostle Paul, "our Saviour Jesus Christ gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works: These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority and doctrine. This is a faithful saying, and these things I will, that thou affirm constantly,

that they who have believed in God, might be careful to maintain good works; theſe things are good and profitable unto men. If thou put the brethren in remembrance of theſe things, thou ſhalt be a good miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, nouriſhed up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, whereunto thou haſt attained."

Another part of your work is to viſit the families in your Pariſh, and to viſit the ſick: The firſt is often more laborious than uſeful; the laſt is an office of humanity, of Chriſtian compaſſion, and part of a miniſter's duty; and you will be happy in pouring the balm of conſolation into the ſoul of the dying Chriſtian, and in rivetting good impreſſions on the hearts of thoſe who ſhall recover. But when you viſit the ſick, who are alſo poor, (and, no doubt, you will find many ſuch in your wide and populous Pariſh,) your breaſt will heave with all the feelings of compaſſion; when you go into the diſmal cottages of the ſtarving and dying poor, the ſight of human woe, the gloomy image of hunger, of agony, of death, will ſtrike all your ſenſes; with a glowing pity, you will have room in your breaſt to take in a concern for your fellow-Chriſtians in diſtreſs; and you will regret that it is not in your power to relieve them as you would: but when you find that they have lived by faith, you will, by encouraging them to look unto Jeſus, who hath taken away the ſting of death, cauſe them to rejoice and be glad, that they are ſoon to find the grave: nay, your very ſympathiſing with them, will comfort them in ſome degree; and from the claimant view of indigence and miſery, your ſpirit will be ſtirred up to "charge them that are rich in this world, that they be ready to diſtribute and willing to communicate" to the neceſſities of the poor, in this time of general diſtreſs.

I ſay nothing about your conduct in Church judicatories: in this age, theſe Courts are leſs and leſs

regarded: but when any of your ordinary people unhappily fall into thoſe tranſgreſſions which are judged to merit the cenſures of the Church, you may perhaps find it prudent and tending to edification, to diſcuſs as many of ſuch ſcandals as poſſible, quietly in your own Seſſion.—With reſpect to your appearances in higher judicatories, I have no reaſon to doubt but you will always follow that which is right, or appeareth to you as ſuch.

I conclude what I had to ſay to you, in the words of Paul to Timothy, proper to guide you in your private and public capacity. "I charge thee, therefore, before God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall judge the quick and the dead at his appearance and his kingdom; preach the Word, be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-ſuffering and doctrine. Study to ſhow thyſelf approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be aſhamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. Let no man deſpiſe thy youth, but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in converſation, in charity, in ſpirit, in faith, in purity. Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee. Meditate on theſe things; give thyſelf wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear to all. Flee alſo youthful luſts, but follow righteouſneſs, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart. Watch then in all things, do the work of an Evangeliſt, make full proof of thy miniſtry. Take heed unto thyſelf, and to thy doctrine, continue in them, for in doing this, thou ſhalt both ſave thyſelf, and them that hear thee." And when you are on the verge of life, you will have to ſay, with that faithful ſervant of Chriſt, "The time of my departure is at hand, I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will

give me at that day.—Conſider what I ſay, and the Lord give thee underſtanding in all things."

The form requires, that I ſhould alſo ſpeak a few words to you of this Congregation.—You have harmoniouſly called Mr. Burns to be your Miniſter: You have promiſed him all encouragement, and ſubmiſſion in the Lord; you have done well; continue in this laudable ſpirit, continue to "receive him in the Lord, with all gladneſs, and hold him in reputation, becauſe he labours in the work of Chriſt. Eſteem him very highly in love for his works ſake." Nothing will ſo effectually encourage him, as the ſeeing you give evidence of your growth in grace, and in the knowledge of Chriſt; when he obſerves you living ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, and having, in all things, your converſation, ſuch as becometh the Goſpel, this will encourage his heart; you will be his "glory and his joy; for what is his hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the preſence of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt at his coming?"

And you will give evidence of your growth in grace, by the practice of ſobriety, temperance, juſtice, and charity; and, in ſhort, by the performance of relative duties. Let parents and children, maſters and ſervants, rich and poor, conſcientiouſly diſcharge the duties reſpectfully incumbent upon them. In particular, the rich are called upon, in this hard time, to open their hands wide to relieve the poor, who are every where greatly multiplied in number, and many, by not being employed, are in deep diſtreſs. No ſight will pleaſe you ſo much, as the faces of men who have been made leſs miſerable, and more happy, by your charity. To reileve them, is an evidence that you love God, and eſteem the grace of the Lord Jeſus; "but whoſo hath this world's good, and ſeeth his brother have need, and ſhutteth up his bowels of compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

And you will be guided to this Chriſtian converſation, if you live by faith, if you are devout, if you read and hear the word of God, and ſanctify the Sabbath: Duties which (alas!) are too much neglected in this diſſipated age.

To be edified by public prayers, it is neceſſary that you join and enter into the ſpirit of thoſe prayers; that is, that the aſpirations of your ſouls ſhould go along with the words ſpoken by your Miniſter; whether in confeſſion, in petition, or in thankſgiving and praiſe, your whole ſouls ſhould be engaged in the duty, as in the preſence of God, who ſearcheth the heart. What I now ſay is too little attended to, too ſeldom mentioned, and too little practiſed in moſt of our congregations; and yet without it, people pray not in public at all; their bodies are preſent, but their hearts join not in the ſervice.

But a great part of your time in Church is employed in hearing: Your Miniſter is to explain the ſcriptures, to convey inſtruction into your minds, to perſuade you to a holy practice, praying you in Chriſt's ſtead to be reconciled to God. Come to hear the word of God with a humble mind, ſenſible that you ſtand in need of ſpiritual inſtruction, deſirous not only to learn your duty, but reſolving alſo, by God's grace, to put it in practice. The diſcourſes you hear from the pulpit may not all be equally agreeable to you; but it is very poſſible that thoſe you diſlike moſt may be very neceſſary, and if duly improved by you, tend moſt to your real edification, by prevailing upon you, "to deny yourſelves, to take up your croſs, and to follow Jeſus." In the Goſpel there "are given unto us exceeding great and precious promiſes;" but they are given, "that by theſe you might be partakers of the divine nature, having eſcaped the corruption that is in the world through luſts." Many of you are prone enough to lay claim to the promiſes and privileges of the Goſpel; but ſome of you are

unwilling even to hear of the duties it requires. When Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled, and bid that inspired teacher go his way; some of our people, when they hear of the necessity of mortification, of justice, truth, meekness, love, and charity, they go away from their teachers: And there may be places where, if a pastor should venture to skim over these duties, or touch at them only by the bye, he might render himself wonderfully popular, and draw town and country after him. But your Minister dareth not to do so, because he knows, that if he should thus "seek to please men, he should not be the servant of Christ." He will preach faith, but he will insist particularly on practice; in preaching Christ, he will "warn every man, and teach every man in all wisdom, that he may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." He will "please you for your good to edification;" and if you aim at eternal life, why should any gospel truth displease or disgust you? Will you act like a foolish man attacked with a desperate disease, who grasps at the sweet potion, but rejects the bitter remedy, which, the physician tells him, is absolutely necessary to save his life? These discourses which pierce you to the heart; which show you your corruption, your faults, and your follies; which alarm your consciences, and set you all a-stir; which, through divine grace, are the means of humbling you, and causing you apply to God for the renovation of your nature by the Holy Ghost; these, these are the discourses which, however unwelcome they may be, are likely to awaken you out of that security which leads on to everlasting destruction.—And when you come in a devout temper prepared to hear the word of God; when you listen to it with reverence and attention; when you lay it up in your hearts, and go home from Church in silence, in a sober and thoughtful frame; your spiritual improvement is then begun, and God will by

his Spirit carry it onwards to perfection, for you may be "confident of this very thing, that he that hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ."

Finally, my brethren, that you may derive advantage from the public ministrations of your Pastor, exercise yourselves habitually in prayer; family prayer and secret prayer: By prayer, "our gospel will come unto you, not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost:" Through this Spirit, the word of God will penetrate your souls: It will not be a "dead letter, but quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword." By the Spirit to be obtained by your praying to God in the name of Christ, you will be disposed to receive the Gospel, "not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh in them who believe." The discourses you hear from the pulpit, are like seeds sown in your hearts; and as seeds scattered on the ground do not grow up to maturity but as they are cherished by the benign warmth of the sun; so it is the enlivening operation of the Spirit which gives efficacy to the word preached.—If you strive and pray for spiritual improvement, and "follow on to know the Lord," the Spirit of God will come unto you "as the rain, as the former and the latter rain" upon the perched ground. But whilst you pray for your own advancement in grace and knowledge, neglect not to pray for your Minister also; "I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with him, in your prayers to God for him. He watcheth for your souls; pray for him as for one who must give account, that he may do it with joy, and not with grief. Pray for him in the Spirit, watching thereunto, with all perseverance, that utterance may be given him, that he may open his mouth boldly, that he may speak as he ought to speak, to make known to you the mystery

of the Gospel." Thus united to your Pastor in Christian love, striving and persevering in the same great design, you and he will pass through the wilderness of life, mutually comforting one another; and being by the grace of God kept from falling, you will at length be "presented faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy. Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober and hope to the end, for grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." And without this hope, what is there in the world that can comfort us? Without it, every prospect is dreary, dark, and gloomy; without it, our being is vain, and life is but a dream: But blessed be God, "life and immortality are brought to light in the Gospel; there remaineth a rest for the people of God; Christ hath purchased for us a kingdom, a kingdom that cannot be moved; for God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, that whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him."

Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

SERMON III.

THE REVOLT OF THE TEN TRIBES.

Preached in the Church of Govan, on the Public Faſt, 1776.

So when all Iſrael ſaw that the King hearkened not unto them, the people anſwered the King, ſaying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the ſon of Jeſſe: to your tents, O Iſrael! Now ſee to thine own houſe, David. So Iſrael departed unto their tents.

1 KINGS, xii. 16.

To know the hiſtory of mankind, ſhould be the ſtudy of every perſon: To know the changes that have happened in the circumſtances of individuals, and of great ſocieties, and the cauſes of thoſe changes, may be of great utility to every man, whether he be in a public or in a private ſtation. Not to ſpeak of the pleaſure derived from a ſurvey of paſt tranſactions and revolutions; there are to be found, in the hiſtory of almoſt any country, ſome noble examples of integrity and virtue, which we ought to admire and imitate; and alſo many ſtriking inſtances of folly, injuſtice, and cruelty, which we ought to abhor: Such inſtances and examples furniſh us with leſſons to form our temper, and to direct our conduct in life. But there is no hiſtory ſo fruitful of inſtruction as that contained in the holy ſcripture. The holy ſcripture is, in a peculiar ſenſe, the hiſtory of providence, the hiſtory of God's moral government: "God's countenance beholdeth the upright, and his face is ſet againſt the wicked." By his diſpoſal, the wiſe and prudent "inherit worldly glory, and ſhame is the promotion of fools." The righteous are oftentimes

prosperous, and, to a considerable degree, they meet with the reward of virtue even in the present life; the devices of the wicked are disappointed, their cruel projects are retarded, or altogether blasted, and their hands cannot perform their enterprise; so that they also, even in this life, commonly meet with some part of that punishment which bad men deserve.

I confess that I feel much pleasure in the historical passages of scripture; some of these I have not long ago read, and endeavoured to explain to you; and I have often wondered, that even those who have too low an esteem of divine revelation do not peruse the scripture-history attentively, because I am sure that those of them who have capacity might derive great instruction and improvement from that perusal.

In the chapter I have now read, we have the account of a sudden and memorable revolution that happened in the kingdom of Judah, the revolt of the ten tribes, which, alas! gave rise to bloody wars between the two kingdoms, weakened each of them, and was unfavourable to the true religion. It is the design of this discourse, to consider the history before me, and to offer some remarks, all or most of which have, I presume, occurred already to every attentive reader.

"Solomon slept with his fathers, and Rehoboam, his son, reigned in his stead." It is not expressly said, but it is evidently implied, that when Solomon died, Rehoboam was immediately crowned at Jerusalem, and set apart to be king of Judah and Benjamin, by being anointed with oil, as was the custom among the Jews. David was anointed at Hebron to be king of Judah seven years before he was made king of the ten tribes: But after Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, was basely murdered in his own palace, the Israelites waited on David at Hebron; and, when he had made a league or compact with them, respecting their privileges and the taxes they were to pay, he was anointed to be king of the ten tribes also. Seventy-

three years had elapſed ſince this union of the two crowns; and yet it ſeems the ten tribes were ſtill conſidered as being in ſome ſort a diſtinct kingdom from that of Judah. "And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Iſrael were come to Shechem to make him king." Rehoboam went to Shechem: all Iſrael, that is, the heads of the tribes, delegates from all Iſrael, were there before him; they had met in Congreſs at Shechem to make him king, not with power unlimited: From their regard to the family of David, they deſired to make him king; they had come to Shechem in that view; but it was upon the conditions which they expreſsly mention: for, as was natural, the regard they had to their own intereſt was ſtronger than their attachment to David's family.

Shechem: At this ancient town many public meetings were held. It was in the tribe of Ephraim, and ſtood on the brow of a hill, at the ſide of that beautiful valley which lay between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizzim, from which two mountains, the bleſſings and curſes, mentioned in Deuteronomy, were pronounced. It was in the parcel of land which Jacob a little before his death gave to his ſon Joſeph. Here Joſeph's bones were buried; here was Jacob's well, near which our Saviour had the converſation with the woman of Samaria, mentioned in John's goſpel. Shechem was at firſt built by Hamor, and ſo called after the name of his ſon. The mention of this place is introduced in ſcripture with a very tragical ſtory: Dinah, Jacob's daughter, had gone out to ſee the daughters of the land; that is, as if ſome unwary young woman ſhould go to ſome diſtant fair or market, where ſhe is a ſtranger; or, as one in faſhionable life goes unguarded to waſte her time at a play, or a nocturnal card-aſſembly, or a maſquerade: She was fair; ſhe was in danger; Shechem ſaw her, and diſhonoured her; but, being ſick, and deſperately in love with her, he would have given all he had in the world

to have her to wife. Old Hamor, his father, pitied his diſtreſs, and, dreading no guile, entered into a treaty with Jacob's family about the marriage. They perfidiouſly conſented to the match, on condition that Hamor, Shechem, the citizens, all their domeſtics, and ſlaves, ſhould be circumciſed. To theſe terms Hamor agreed, and Shechem alſo, who "was more honourable than all his father's houſe." Truſting to the ſincerity of Jacob's family, they were all circumciſed, and ſo deprived themſelves of all means of making any defence, ſhould they be attacked; and attacked moſt certainly they were; for, upon the third day, when they were ſore, two of Jacob's ſons ruſhed in upon them, ſword in hand, and barbarouſly butchered all the males, man and child; juſt as if in a field of battle, when the weaker ſide fling down their arms, and ſurrender to the ſtronger, the ſtronger ſhould inſtantly fall on, and with unrelenting cruelty maſſacre the unarmed ſoldiers upon the ſpot. Such things, alas! have been done.

The heads of the ten tribes, who had come to Shechem, fearing or ſuſpecting that Rehoboam and his counſellors would not grant them the terms they were to demand, had laid their meaſures with a conſiderable degree of political ability: They brought one with them, whom, in caſe of neceſſity, they intended to make king, and to erect themſelves into a ſeparate independent kingdom, as they had been already, under the government of Saul's ſon. This was their intention, in caſe Rehoboam ſhould refuſe their petition. The man they took care to bring along with them was Jeroboam.

Jeroboam, the ſon of Nebat, had loſt his father when he was very young; and, though he had none to take care of his education but his widowed mother, he ſoon emerged into greatneſs. By his ſpirit and activity he cauſed himſelf to be taken notice of: He is called the ſervant of Solomon, juſt as miniſters of

ſtate are now called the king's ſervants; but in point of rank and honour, he was at leaſt on a footing with thoſe great officers mentioned above, two of whom were married to Solomon's two daughters. He was a mighty man of valour, ambitious, and a ſubtle politician. He had already, it ſeems, diſplayed his great capacity for buſineſs; the people had formed a high eſteem of him; and "Solomon ſeeing the young man, that he had induſtry, made him ruler over all the charge of the houſe of Joſeph." He had a difficult part to act; to pleaſe the king, by exacting the heavy taxes; and to acquire and preſerve the good-will of the people: in both which, however, by his addreſs, he ſucceeded, at leaſt for a time. But in the courts of abſolute princes no man is in ſo great danger as one in whoſe character ability and popularity are united. Neither the prince nor the miniſters are at eaſe, whilſt ſuch a man is near them, in office, or is ſuffered to live. It was this that cauſed the murder of the renowned and incomparable Germanicus, in the reign of the vile Tiberius, his uncle, who ordered him to be poiſoned. This was the cauſe of Corbulo's death, in the reign of Nero; and of the wiſe and virtuous Agricola's, in the reign of Domitian; Agricola, who, by erecting Roman ſchools, began firſt to civiliſe this ſavage country. Nay, in modern times, if a miniſter is popular, and poſſeſſed of uncommon talents and integrity; if he ventures to take the guidance of public affairs, when, by a wretched management, the ſtate is miſerable at home, and contemptible abroad; if he conducts a dangerous war ſucceſsfully; if he raiſes the renown of his country higher, and ſpreads it wider than ever it was before; if he attempts to leſſen penſions, and to abridge the number of penſioners; if he applies to the exigencies of the ſtate theſe immenſe ſums which were formerly given in ſhameful bribes—all the corrupted courtiers, and their vile flatterers, are his enemies. Not ſatis-

fied with displacing him, they are busy to blast his character with their venomous breath: The cry against him comes from above; all the subaltern tools of corruption join in the cry; and though he be as virtuous as Cato, they will strive, in vain, to render his name as odious as that of Nero: And if a statesman, of the most distinguished merit, above corruption, and not chargeable with any of those vices which in the issue appeared in Jeroboam, hath in our times been treated in so shocking a manner, need we wonder that the Jewish courtiers should solicit Solomon to put Jeroboam to death? It is said, that "Jeroboam lift up his hand against the king." I do not recollect that he made any open insurrection; the meaning probably is, that he artfully endeavoured to steal away the hearts of the men of Israel, behaving like Absalom, who, "when any man came near him, to do him obeisance, put forth his hand, and took him, and saluted him." And as in Solomon's declining years a weakness had crept into his government, that king knew well that Jeroboam had sagacity to observe such weakness, and that he had also both ambition and popularity to avail himself of it, if a proper opportunity should offer.

But I must not forget, that, besides Jeroboam's talents and popularity, there was another thing that made him to be suspected by Solomon: Jeroboam being to wait on the Court, had clad himself in a new or birth-day suit; for a great man is forced to regard so frivolous a thing as external decoration: As he was returning from court, Ahijah, the prophet, met him in the fields, and they two were alone: "Ahijah caught hold of the new garment, and rent it in twelve pieces, and said to Jeroboam, take thee ten pieces; for thus saith the Lord the God of Israel, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee." This prediction, it seems, had come to Solomon's ears, (probably it had been pub-

liſhed by Jeroboam himſelf;) and therefore, as well as for the other cauſe I mentioned, Solomon ſought to kill Jeroboam, and Jeroboam aroſe and fled into Egypt; for even in the decline of Solomon's affairs, he dared not to remain in Judah. He eſcaped into Egypt; but as ſoon as he heard of Solomon's death, he was it ſeems in no fear of Rehoboam, or he thought of Ahijah's prophecy, and reſolved to return; and, at the ſame time, he was by the ten tribes invited and entreated to return home. He is, we ſee, along with the heads of the tribes when they preſent their petition to Rehoboam; for Jeroboam, and all the congregation of Iſrael came, and ſpoke unto Rehoboam, ſaying, "Thy father made our yoke grievous; now therefore make thou the grievous ſervice of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will ſerve thee." This is the complaint of the Iſraelites, their petition of right, the condition on which they were to make Rehoboam their king. You will here remark, that the complaint is only againſt Solomon. David had made a league with the ten tribes; and it ſeems he kept to his oath, and did not violate their rights. It was Solomon that did ſo. You will alſo remark, that there are two particular grievances complained of; the "grievous ſervice," and "the heavy yoke." Solomon was moſt part of his reign occupied in great buildings; the ſervice, the perſonal labour at theſe works was exceedingly grievous. "King Solomon raiſed a levy out of all Iſrael, and the levy was thirty thouſand men. He had threeſcore and ten thouſand that bare burdens, and fourſcore thouſand hewers in the mountains, beſides the chief officers which were over the work, three thouſand and three hundred which ruled over the people that wrought in the work." This levy was the grievous ſervice of men. The heavy yoke was the levy of taxes, and it was not leſs grievous. "And this is the reaſon of the levy which King Solomon raiſed for to

build the houſe of the Lord, and his own houſe, and Millo, and the wall of Jeruſalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo," and many more; among others "Tadmor in the wilderneſs," near the banks of the Euphrates, afterwards called Palmyra, the noble ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen. David, indeed, had laid up much gold for building the temple; and from Eloth and Eziengeber, ports upon the Red Sea, which David had violently taken from the Edomites, Solomon carried on a great trade, and imported much gold from Tarſhiſh and from Ophir: But, to carry on and complete ſuch immenſe works, he found it neceſſary to break the league his father had confirmed by oath, and to augment the taxes on his own ſubjects. It is computed, that, from a territory ſcarce larger, I believe, than the half of Ireland, he levied yearly near five millions Sterling, though poſſibly ſome part of this ſum was extorted from the conquered provinces. The cattle, which, by his twelve officers, he exacted from the people, to maintain his table, was alſo a burden and a grievance. "And Solomon's proviſion for one day was thirty meaſures of fine flour, and threeſcore meaſures of meal, ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the paſture, and an hundred ſheep, beſides harts, and roe-bucks, and fallow-deer, and fatted fowl."

The claim or petition is, "Make the heavy yoke which thy father put upon us lighter, and we will ſerve thee." It is modeſtly expreſſed; they leave it to the king how far he was to make their yoke lighter. I ſuppoſe they meant to ſay, depart from theſe new exactions and preſtations; reſtore our original rights; let us be taxed agreeably to the compact, the league we made with David, agreeably to the ancient charter we have from that king, "and we will ſerve thee."

Though it doth not appear that the repreſentatives of the ten tribes had the king's authority to meet in

Congreſs at Shechem, their petition or remonſtrance, however, was graciouſly received by Rehoboam.—There have been, in latter times, petitions againſt new and heavy taxations, humbly offered by great and reſpectable bodies of men; which petitions have not only been rejected, but new and ſeverer meaſures have been enacted againſt the petitioners and their conſtituents. Rehoboam heard and received the remonſtrance. Hitherto, indeed, I ſee in him no ſymptoms of any arbitrary temper; and had he fallen into the hands of wiſe and reaſonable counſellors, he might have reigned over all Iſrael and Judah, in the ſame ſplendour his father had done. "He ſaid unto them," that is, to the delegates, "Depart yet for three days, and then come again to me; and the people departed." Hitherto all is tranſacted with becoming decency, and promiſed a good iſſue. The Iſraelites, from the liking they had to the family of David, were willing to ſerve Rehoboam on the condition they had mentioned in their petition; and to take three days to deliberate what would be the proper anſwer to a petition of ſuch importance was prudent in the king. Three days accordingly were ſpent in that deliberation.

Though it appears that Rehoboam had diſmiſſed his father's privy council, he had, however, brought them along with him to Shechem. And he thought proper firſt to aſk their opinion and advice; old age claims reſpect, and grey hairs challenge reverence. "King Rehoboam conſulted with the old men that ſtood before Solomon, his father, while he yet lived, and ſaid, what do ye adviſe that I may anſwer this people?" Here is a mind candid, to all appearance, and open to receive good advice. "And they (the old men) ſpake unto him, ſaying, If thou wilt be a ſervant to the people this day, and wilt ſerve them, and anſwer them, and ſpeak good words to them, then they will be thy ſervants for ever."—"If thou wilt;"

This, I think, implies, that the old counſellors knew or feared, that the king's anſwer was formed already, by his having liſtened in private to thoſe young men who were grown up with him. It may, however, ſeem, that when they ſaid "this day," they adviſed the king to make large promiſes, and to give fair words on that critical day; and that, if he once got the people to ſubmit to his rule, ſhould they afterward prove refractory, he might treat them as rebels, and compel them by force to be his ſervants for ever. I cannot think this to be the meaning; the meaning certainly is, if thou wilt this day gratify the people; if thou wilt uſe lenient expreſſions; if thou wilt act agreeably to all that is equitable and right in their petition; and if thou wilt continue to do ſo, then they will be thy ſubjects for ever. A prudent advice in ſuch circumſtances, if ever there was one; and in this advice the old privy counſellors ſeem to have been unanimous; and had the new miniſtry given the like advice, the ten provinces, in all human probability, would have continued in ſubjection to the houſe of David; the united kingdom would have been better able to withſtand the attacks of foreign powers; and all the bloody wars which were afterwards carried on between the two kingdoms would have been prevented. But, alas! "Rehoboam forſook the counſel of the old men." This is the firſt appearance of any thing blameable in Rehoboam; he forſook the counſel; he was not ſatisfied with it; he did not acquieſce in it; he departed from it, and rejected it, becauſe it did not gratify his love of domination. And having got a new privy council, it was but decent that he ſhould conſult with them: "He conſulted with the young men that were grown up with him, and which ſtood before him." It commonly happens, that when a new king ſucceeds to a throne, there is, as it were, an univerſal agreement to flatter and to magnify him: His knowledge, his

wiſdom, his eloquence, his virtue, are extolled above all meaſure; every one about court ſtrives to exceed another in this ſpecies of adulation; and every one expects, for his pains, a place or a penſion under the new government. Theſe flatterers are the moſt dangerous enemies of princes. Thus James I. was, on his acceſſion to the throne of England, ſo extravagantly flattered, that, though at firſt he perceived his danger from the ſweetneſs of a potion ſo copiouſly adminiſtered to him, and had the ſenſe to declare, "that theſe flatterers would ſpoil even a good king," yet his ſenſe was more and more damaged by conſtantly receiving and ſwallowing a draught ſo delightful and ſo ſtupifying; ſo that he wondered at his own ability, or king-craft, as he called it, and vainly boaſted that he had managed the affairs of England in the laſt years of Queen Elizabeth; though it is well known, that for many years he and his miniſters in Scotland were, like children in leading-ſtrings, guided in every material ſtep by that immortal princeſs. Thus, when James II. came to the throne, his dignity and high ſpirit were loudly praiſed. The flattering courtiers boaſted, that he would not, like Charles, debaſe himſelf to be a penſioner of France, though the French king, they ſay, declared that James was as willing to receive his money as his brother Charles had been. And thus alſo, when Anne ſucceeded the illuſtrious William III. ſhe was flattered by a parliamentary addreſs, that, by her capacity, ſhe would retrieve the honour of the nation. And I make no doubt, but the Jewiſh counſellors talked in the ſame ſtyle with reſpect to Rehoboam: They flattered him, and taught him to think himſelf, in every reſpect, far ſuperior to Solomon, his father. They are called young men; Rehoboam himſelf was not young; "he was forty and one years old when he began to reign." The counſellors, who had been at ſchool with him, were not very young in point of age; but they were

raw, unskilful, unpractised in state-affairs; and, as it would seem, they were, like many others, abundantly young in point of political knowledge. It is remarkable, that the king speaks to those young counsellors in a style very different from that in which he spoke to the old: To the old counsellors, who had stood before his father, he said, "How do ye advise that I may answer this people?" But unto the young ones, who stood before himself, he said, "What counsel give ye, that we may answer this people, who have spoken to me, saying, Make the yoke which thy father did put upon us lighter?" I confess, I am more and more tempted to suspect, that the king consulted the old privy counsellors only to save appearances. He was determined, it would seem, to give just such an answer as those who stood before him should advise; and it is very probable, he knew before-hand what that advice was to be: "WHAT we may answer this people;" a compliment from the king to these raw statesmen; or it means, that the answer to be given was to be a deed of the privy council, which, in arbitrary kingdoms, is you know of equal authority with an act of parliament in limited governments;—and in these last it hath sometimes been so also. To a prince fond of despotic power, and elated with the belief that he was an incomparably greater personage than his predecessor, nothing could be more flattering than the advice which these young counsellors gave Rehoboam. "And the young men that were grown up with him, spake unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou speak unto this people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou say unto them, My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. And now, whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke. My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." Nothing could be more foolish, more

tyrannical, more exaſperating, than the anſwer which theſe young counſellors adviſed to be given to the petition of the delegates. Let me make a few remarks upon it. And, 1ſt, There is no apology made for the heavy yoke which Solomon had laid upon the people. Something might have been ſaid about his expenſive buildings. To build the temple was his duty; God had appointed him to build it; he had got a ſolemn charge from his dying father to ornament that houſe with wonderful decorations; "for the palace was not for man, but for the Lord God." And he ought not to be blamed for building a palace to himſelf; but it muſt be confeſſed, that to waſte much time, and labour, and money, upon grand and unneceſſary buildings, can afford a prince but a flimſy excuſe for oppreſſing his ſubjects. The walls of Babylon, the hanging-gardens there, the temple of Belus, the pyramids of Egypt, are looked upon as ſtriking monuments of the grandeur of ancient times; but they are the monuments of a vain and uſeleſs grandeur. And in whatever country ſuch works were erected, it is a ſufficient proof that the common people there were held in a pitiable and abject bondage; dragged from their families, and from rural, innocent, uſeful occupations, and forced to drudge and ſweat at oſtentatious buildings, to gratify the pride and caprice of a deſpotic maſter.

2d, The anſwer was fooliſh and unreaſonable, becauſe, inſtead of adviſing the king to make the yoke lighter, they adviſed him to make it heavier. There was certainly no need of adding to the yoke, or even of continuing the high taxes levied by Solomon. The buildings were finiſhed, and the kingdom had peace. "I will add to your yoke:" He was not even to tell them how much he was to add. Had there been a line drawn beyond which he was not to paſs, a limited proportion of their ſervices and effects, which, if performed and paid, he was not to exact more; the

anſwer would have been more diſcreet, and the condition of the people ſomewhat more tolerable; but there was no ſuch limitation; ſo that the poor Iſraelites had reaſon to dread that all that they had was to be violently torn from them, to ſatisfy the rapaciouſneſs of thoſe young counſellors who unhappily had got Rehoboam under their guidance. In fact, they were to have nothing left which they could call their own. And, as appears from the next expreſſion,

3d, More was to be exacted from them than ever they could expect to have. "My father made your yoke heavy; but my little finger ſhall be thicker than my father's loins." The ſervices exacted, the taxes levied by my father, were, you ſay, a grievous burden; but the ſervices and taxes which I am to exact will be as much greater than thoſe exacted by my father, as a man's body is thicker than his little finger; a proverbial expreſſion, perhaps; but no words could more clearly diſcover the cruel and arbitrary temper of the counſellors who ſtood before this ill adviſed king. And I remark,

4th, That they adviſe the king to tell the delegates, without diſguiſe, how the ſervices and the payment of the taxes were to be inforced, namely, by corporal puniſhment: "My father chaſtiſed you with whips, but I will chaſtiſe you with ſcorpions." According to the ſavage practice in deſpotic kingdoms, Solomon uſed, it ſeems, to inforce obedience to his arbitrary will, by chaſtiſing his ſubjects with whips or ſcourges; but Rehoboam was adviſed to do this with ten times more ſeverity; he was to chaſtiſe them with ſcorpions, that is, with whips or ſcourges that had iron rowels affixed to them, which would tear the fleſh from the very bone. This is the anſwer which Rehoboam's privy council adviſed him to make; the anſwer which, excepting one article, he actually made to the heads of the ten tribes: for "Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam the third day, as the king had

appointed, saying, Come to me on the third day. And the king answered the people roughly, and forsook the old mens counsel that they gave him, and spoke to them after the counsel of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke; my father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." The edict itself was rigid and tyrannical; and it was announced to the people with roughness, with a stern and haughty countenance, and evident marks that the king held them in contempt. You are to observe, that there is one article of the advice given which was not delivered by the king to the delegates; "My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins." Did this proceed from the king's lenity? I wish I could think so; "but the king spake roughly." Perhaps the king had forgotten a few of the words which his counsellors had dictated to him; for I believe it was not yet the custom for ministers to write the speech which the king was to deliver; the king was left to recollect the several words of their advice as his memory should serve him.

The effect this tyrannical declaration produced was the same that every such declaration ought to produce, and will produce on free minds. Such an undisguised determination to exercise unlimited and despotic power would inspire even cowards with manhood and resolution; for, will free men tamely submit to be slaves, and, if possible, worse than slaves, whilst they have it in their power to preserve their liberty, and to do themselves justice? The new counsellors might flatter Rehoboam, that there were awful rays of glory darting from his august countenance; that the people would be intimidated at his presence; that they would receive his royal orders with a humble submission, and yield obedience in the best manner they could; but both they and the king were altogether disappointed: Though their remonstrance

was received and heard, yet, after so determined and so rough an answer, they have not patience to remonstrate again. Nothing is so contemptible as threats, even by a prince, when it is well known that such threats cannot be put in execution. Without being abashed, they, in the king's very face, avow and announce their revolt. And I cannot help thinking, that in the king's presence they express their indignation with some degree of insolence; for, "when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: To your tents, O Israel! now see to thine house, David. So Israel departed to their tents." What portion have we in David? we are not of that tribe: What inheritance have we in the son of Jesse? it is none of our concern to become slaves, to support the haughty pride of a king sprung from so poor a family as that of Jesse; for they spake so by way of contempt. There is even a sort of challenge given, a defiance of Rehoboam; see to thine house, David; we are able to defend ourselves; we defy thy power. To your tents, O Israel! so Israel departed to their tents.

Rehoboam was the third king of that race. The original family of Jewish kings was that of Saul, after whose death, his son, Ishbosheth, as I have said, reigned seven years: It is, however, remarkable, that the Israelites seek not for a king in that family. Perhaps there was none of the family alive who was fit to be made king: David had delivered seven brave men, sons of Saul, to the Gibeonites, to be hanged at Gibeah of Saul, to turn away the anger of the Lord in a time of famine. And Mephibosheth, Jonathan's son, if alive, was lame. But in those days, it was not a regard to family, but esteem of military accomplishments, which made people choose one to be their king. Thus the Israelites said to David at Hebron,

"In time paſt, even when Saul was king, thou waſt he that leddeſt out and broughteſt in Iſrael: and the Lord thy God ſaid unto thee, thou ſhalt feed my people, thou ſhalt be ruler over my people Iſrael." And the ſame Iſraelites had it in view to make Jeroboam their king, becauſe he was a mighty man of valour.

The young men grown up with Rehoboam, having got him under their direction, puſhed him on to another very raſh and fatal ſtep. "Then King Rehoboam ſent Adoram, who was over the tribute, and all Iſrael ſtoned him with ſtones, that he died; therefore King Rehoboam made ſpeed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jeruſalem." This Adoram had been over the levy in Solomon's time: He was kept in place, though the old counſellors had been diſmiſſed. In his office, though he had pleaſed the king, he had, it ſeems, rendered himſelf obnoxious to the people. He was ſent to levy the tribute as uſual; whether the heavy yoke only that was paid to Solomon, or with additions, as the king had ſaid, doth not appear. But at ſight of him all Iſrael are inflamed againſt him. The heads of the tribes, who had been exaſperated by the king's anſwer, probably conducted the licentious ſpirit. The people, all in a ferment, riſe with an unbridled fury; with a ſavage and unrelenting rage, the incenſed mob, diſguſted at Adoram before, and incenſed by hearing of the anſwer which the king had juſt given to the remonſtrance, they ſtoned Adoram with ſtones, that he died. A mob is altogether unjuſtifiable; but rulers ought to avoid ſuch unjuſtifiable ſteps as are provoking and violent, and may drive the exaſperated people to extremities.

What muſt theſe young counſellors have now thought of their deſperate counſels, by which the king was diſgraced and terrified, and ſeemed to be in danger of his life. Nor was his fear without ground;

for, when a mob is once a-foot, what or who is it that can put a ſtop to its fury? Even majeſty itſelf, if in the way, may fall a victim to its ſenſeleſs rage. Muſt not the king himſelf have been ſomewhat ſorry that he forſook the prudent counſel of the old men, when he ſees himſelf forced to flee in terror from thoſe, who, if he had ſpoken and acted with propriety, would have trembled before him, and yielded a ready obedience to his juſt commands? He made ſpeed to get him up to his chariot, and drove as quickly as he could to Jeruſalem.

When Rehoboam had, by flight, eſcaped to the capital; after his authority had been controuled, his will reſiſted, and the collector of his taxes maſſacred by a mob; he, without repealing the obnoxious edict, or taking time to think of ſome lenient ſteps, being yet directed by his young counſellors, had immediate recourſe to coercive meaſures. He immediately levied a powerful army to force the revolted provinces to ſubmit again to his grievous yoke, and to pay the heavy taxes impoſed upon them. "And when Rehoboam was come to Jeruſalem, he aſſembled all the houſe of Judah, with the tribe of Benjamin, an hundred and fourſcore thouſand choſen men, which were warriors, to fight againſt the houſe of Iſrael, to bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam, the ſon of Solomon." Had he firſt made their burden lighter, and repealed the edict for an unlimited tribute, which he had ſo recently enacted, I do not know but the rage of the people would have ſoon ſubſided, and, from their liking to David's family, they might have returned again, and ſubmitted to Rehoboam: but there was no ſuch repeal, no relaxation; he aſſembled a hundred and fourſcore thouſand. I ſuſpect that the men of Judah and Benjamin had no great mind to this war againſt their brethren; for, a few years after this period, Abijam levied and led on to battle no fewer than four hundred thouſand. Be this as it may, Re-

hoboam thought this a ſufficient army; for he did not, as was often the cuſtom, hire the Syrians, or other foreign troops, to cruſh the ſpirit of the revolted provinces. But when this army of a hundred and eighty thouſand are muſtered, and upon their march, their march is countermanded by an authority infinitely ſuperior to that of Rehoboam; for "the word of God came unto Shemaiah, the man of God, ſaying, Speak unto Rehoboam, the ſon of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto all the houſe of Judah and Benjamin, and to the remnant of the people, Thus ſaith the Lord, Ye ſhall not go up, nor fight againſt your brethren the children of Iſrael: return every man to his houſe." It is ſaid in ſcripture, that ſometimes God makes the judges or leaders of a nation fools; but when the leaders of a nation have gone into fooliſh or ruinous meaſures, it ſeldom happens that the infatuation is univerſal. There may be ſtill a few uncorrupted perſons who have love to their country, to its laws, its liberty, and its peace; who have ſenſe to ſee the unrighteous and deſtructive ſchemes that are going to be purſued, and who have alſo ſpirit and reſolution to cry out againſt them; though, alas! when folly, corruption, and venality, have become general, theſe friends of wiſdom, and juſtice, and peace, oftentimes cry in vain: But when a Shemaiah, the man of God, known to be a prophet, when he raiſes his voice, when he ſpeaks in the name of God, it is certainly becoming, that an immediate ſtop be put to unjuſt and pernicious meaſures, however keenly theſe were purſued before. It appears, however, that it was not Rehoboam, and ſtill leſs can we imagine that it was the young men grown up with him, who liſtened to Shemaiah, ſaying, "Thus ſaith the Lord, Thou ſhalt not go up to fight againſt thy brethren the children of Iſrael: return every man to his houſe." It was the houſe of Judah and Benjamin, and the remnant of the people, that is, ſome few of the ten

tribes who had not joined in the revolt; these were they who listened to the man of God. *They*, it is expressly said, not HE, but *they*, hearkened to the word of the Lord, and "returned to depart according to the word of the Lord." Indeed, it is not likely that Rehoboam, "who did evil, and forsook the law of the Lord," would be much influenced by the authority of a prophet. When Micajah modestly, but in a picturesque and affecting manner, dissuaded Ahab from going to fight against the Syrians at Ramoth-Gilead; Ahab, however, proceeded; and, which is more, even the good Jehoshaphat, notwithstanding all that Micajah had said, went to fight along with that idolatrous king: But the people, Judah and Benjamin, hearkened. It is not said that Rehoboam gave them leave to disband: They had, as I observed before, no great heart to the war; so they returned every man to his house. It is very possible they thought that if they should, by force, enslave the ten tribes, the ten tribes, in return, might soon be made the willing instruments to enslave them. One thing which must have had great weight with the army, was the word of the prophet speaking to them in the name of God: "Return, for this thing is from me." We are told above, that "the king hearkened not to the people," (that is, to the petition of the delegates at Shechem); "for the cause was from the Lord, that he might perform his saying which the Lord spake by Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the son of Nebat." Here we are swallowed up and lost in wonder; we are led to think of these secret things which belong to the Lord; we are led up to the original cause of every revolution in states and kingdoms. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! for who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?" Rehoboam's foolish answer was the occa-

ſion or immediate cauſe, but it was only the ſecond cauſe, of the revolt. The operation of all cauſes is guided and directed by the incomprehenſible wiſdom of the "Governor of the nations, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will. The Moſt High divideth to the nations their inheritance. God changeth the times and the ſeaſons. He removeth kings, and ſetteth up kings. He leadeth counſellors, he leadeth princes away ſpoiled; overthrows the mighty, and makes the judges of the earth as vanity. Promotion cometh not from the eaſt, nor from the weſt, nor from the ſouth, but God is judge; he putteth down one, and ſetteth up another. Wiſdom and might are his; he turneth wiſe men backward, and makes their knowledge fooliſh: but his counſel ſhall ſtand; he will do all his pleaſure." God often makes uſe of the folly and wickedneſs of men to bring about the ends of his adorable providence. Nay, the attempts of men to defeat or retard the appointments of divine providence, tend often to the more ſpeedy execution of them. Rehoboam knew that formerly the ten tribes were an independent kingdom; he knew that Sheba had endeavoured that they ſhould revolt from David; and, having heard of the prophecy of Ahijah, he expected, it is probable, that, by loading theſe ten tribes with heavy taxes, he would depreſs their ſpirits, and retain them to be his ſubjects for ever; but this attempt of his was the cauſe or occaſion of an immediate revolt. The means uſed to depreſs or impoveriſh a country or province, are oftentimes the means of its riches and aggrandiſement.

Whilſt the ten tribes thus revolted, Judah, in a large ſenſe, that is, Judah and Benjamin, continued in their allegiance. Probably theſe two tribes were treated with ſome indulgence. Rehoboam was of the tribe of Judah; and Jeruſalem, where the king's palace was, ſtood within the territory of the tribe of

Benjamin. The king, it is likely, intended to exercise his rigour chiefly againſt the ten tribes, for the reaſon I have juſt hinted at.

In the mean time Jeroboam was crowned. "And it came to paſs, when all Iſrael heard that Jeroboam was come again, that they ſent and called him into the congregation, and made him king over all Iſrael." All the heads of the tribes knew he was come again; for he had been with them at Shechem, and he was no doubt glad that the king gave ſo fooliſh an anſwer. And when all the people alſo knew that he was come again, they ſent for him, and called him, and elected him to be their king in a full congregation.

But it ſoon appeared how ill Jeroboam deſerved that elevation to which God in his providence had raiſed him. Entirely ſwayed by worldly motives, he diſregarded the exhortations and the promiſe of God which Ahijah had delivered to him. He made religion give way to reaſons of ſtate. He ſaid in his heart, "Now ſhall the kingdom return to the houſe of David; if the people ſhall go up to do ſacrifice in the houſe of God at Jeruſalem, then ſhall the heart of this people turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam, king of Judah, and they ſhall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam, king of Judah." To hinder the people from going three times a-year to worſhip in the temple of Jeruſalem, as they were ſtrictly commanded by the law of God, he eſtabliſhed idolatry in Iſrael; like Rehoboam, he got counſellors who adviſed him to this impious ſtep. He took counſel, and ſet up two calves of gold, one in Dan, and one in Bethel; and pretending all this was for the eaſe of the people, he ſaid, "It is too much to go up to Jeruſalem; behold thy gods, O Iſrael, that brought thee up out of the land of Egypt: and this thing became a ſin." It was thus that Jeroboam made Iſrael to ſin; and it is thus that, for cauſes political, ſelfiſh, ſometimes cruel, rulers ſacrifice the pure worſhip of

God, and eſtabliſh idolatry and image-worſhip in its place. Not that every change in a ſtate is hurtful to religion or to civil liberty; the reformation in Germany was favourable to both; ſo was the reformation in England and in Scotland; and ſo alſo, in the days of our forefathers, was the Revolution.

But it was a bold ſtep that was taken by Jeroboam; and, if a great part of the Iſraelites had not already embraced idolatry, it might have coſt him dear; it might have coſt him his crown; as a like daring ſtep did to an ill-adviſed and unfortunate ſovereign of Great Britain: For the ſtep Jeroboam ventured to take was at once to alter or corrupt the eſtabliſhed religion, in oppoſition to the written word of God, which could not be miſinterpreted. It was juſt as if a prince ſhould introduce and eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion into a Proteſtant kingdom, in oppoſition to the clear and ſtanding law of the land. And in ſo important a ſtep Jeroboam judged it expedient to take counſel, which would, at leaſt, render the counſellors who agreed with him as blameable as he was himſelf; and you know that thoſe who are near a throne do too commonly fall in with the meaſures, however illegal or pernicious, which they know are agreeable to the prince.

Having, from ſacred hiſtory, offered to your view ſome things which may ſeem to impeach the underſtanding, and leave ſome ſtain upon the character of Rehoboam, I joyfully take notice of one thing which is ſurely to his honour: He repented; threatenings from God had their due effect upon him; his heart underwent a ſalutary change; he changed his meaſures, and I think it probable that he changed his men alſo. When Shiſhak had invaded Judea, "Then came Shemaiah the prophet to Rehoboam, and to the princes of Judah, that were gathered together to Jeruſalem becauſe of Shiſhak, and ſaid unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord, Ye have forſaken me, and therefore

have I alſo left you in the hand of Shiſhak. Whereupon the princes of Iſrael, and the king, humbled themſelves, and they ſaid, The Lord is righteous." Formerly, the king was high-minded, and ſpake roughly; he is now ſerious, humble, and devout. He had, it ſeems, by this time diſmiſſed the young counſellors, being convinced that they had dreadfully miſled him, embroiled his affairs, loſt him ten provinces of his father's kingdom, and put him in danger of loſing the whole. We no longer hear of the young men grown up with him; the king is now attended by the princes of Judah, of Iſrael; theſe princes, who five years before "hearkened to the word of the Lord," and declined to "go up and fight againſt their brethren." The kingdom was to be ſorely chaſtiſed, "that they might know the difference between God's ſervice and the ſervice of a foreign king:" But the king and the princes had repented, and it was not to be deſtroyed; for "when the Lord ſaw that they humbled themſelves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, ſaying, They have humbled themſelves, therefore I will not deſtroy them, but I will grant them ſome deliverance, and my wrath ſhall not be poured out upon Jeruſalem by the hand of Shiſhak. And when he humbled himſelf, the wrath of the Lord turned from him, that he would not deſtroy him altogether. And alſo in Judah things went well."

I have explained this hiſtorical paſſage of ſcripture in the beſt way I could. I conclude the diſcourſe with a few more remarks.

1ſt, The firſt remark I make, is, That it is an eaſy thing to govern mankind. The bulk of men are, as I may ſay, haltered; they are born to ſerve; they are willing, ever deſirous to be led; they ſubmit and live in quietneſs under any government that is but half tolerable. If there be inſurrections or revolts in any ſtate or empire, princes or their miniſters have com-

monly themſelves to blame. If princes will pay a becoming regard to the eſtabliſhed religion,—if they will govern by the known and equitable laws of the land,—if they will execute juſtice impartially,—if they will abſtain from atrocious and bloody acts of oppreſſion,—if they will preſerve inviolated the rights, the privileges, and ancient charters granted to the people; in all ordinary caſes, there will be no inſurrection, no revolt at all. Even though rights be encroached upon, or taxes augmented, if it is ſlowly and gradually done, the people will ſtill be quiet. Indeed, when, like the Iſraelites, a people have been long overburdened with a grievous yoke, and ſee coming upon them all at once an additional burden, which would cruſh them to the ground, and render life itſelf inſupportable, they may ſometimes be exaſperated and provoked to act as that people did; and if there be unanimity among many tribes or provinces, who have ſeparate intereſts, and were many of them formerly jealous of one another, this ſeems to be a deciſive proof, that the provocation given them hath been extremely great. But how quiet and peaceable ſubjects are, even under deſpotic rule, we may be fully ſatisfied, by ſurveying the ſtate of the known world as it is at preſent. Conſider how wretched men are in eaſtern kingdoms and empires; conſider the deplorable ſlavery of the ſubjects in Turkey, in Ruſſia, and in ſome other kingdoms and ſtates in Europe, where the common people are, they ſay, driven to market, and ſold along with the land on which they pine away their lives in miſery. Yet in all theſe ſtates the people live quietly, and ſeldom make any inſurrection; they couch down under the mighty burden; they "bow the ſhoulder, and become ſervants unto tribute." Well would it become any ſucceſſor to a throne, where the ſubjects are ſo wretched, to pity their lamentable condition, and of his own accord to grant them what the ten tribes ſo earneſtly ſought

from Rehoboam: "Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous ſervice of thy father and his heavy yoke, which he put upon us, lighter." Such a prince would feel a generous pleaſure; for he would hear a relieved and grateful people ſay, with tears of joy, Thou haſt made our burden lighter, we will ſerve thee!

2d, I remark, That though ſubjects may judge they are aggrieved by ſome particular laws, and feel themſelves overburdened by a heavy yoke, yet, in all ordinary caſes, it is their duty to yield obedience to the lawful magiſtrate. I dare not ſay, that reſiſtance is in all poſſible caſes criminal. This doctrine, abſurd and ſlaviſh as it is, hath ſometimes been faſhionable in this country. It is not yet a hundred years ſince paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance was, from many pulpits in Britain, weekly obtruded upon the eaſy credulity of an injured and abuſed people; and, amidſt the wonderful changes that happen daily, it may ſoon uſurp the pulpit again, and become as faſhionable as ever. But I think of the glorious Revolution, and cannot but approve of the noble ſtand that was then made againſt popery and arbitrary power; a ſtand, by which the Britiſh conſtitution was improved and ſettled, and a foundation was laid for that great, that national happineſs, which hath been enjoyed under the illuſtrious and amiable princes of the Hanoverian line. However, government is the ordinance of God; and anarchy, rebellion, or civil war in a country, are any of them ſo dreadful, that ſubjects ought to ſuffer much before they begin to think of reſiſting eſtabliſhed authority: They ought, dutifully, and earneſtly, and repeatedly, to petition the throne for redreſs; they ought to wait long and patiently for that relief which they wiſh for. And unleſs their yoke, like that of the Iſraelites, be altogether intolerable, and unleſs they be almoſt ſure of bettering their condition by reſiſtance, they ought not

to reſiſt at all; they ought, both from a ſenſe of duty, and from a regard to ſelf-preſervation, to obey; and if they diſobey, they ought to ſubmit with patience to the ſufferings which may be lawfully inflicted upon them.

3d, I remark, That when a free people are bereaved of their liberty, the prince is commonly much leſs blameable than his miniſters and counſellors. I do not think that Rehoboam was obſtinately bent to rule arbitrarily. If, as I have ſo often ſaid, the counſel of thoſe grown up with him had been the ſame with that of the old men who had ſtood before his father, his anſwer to the tribes would have been very different from what it was. And, in governments where the legiſlature conſiſts of ſeveral branches, it is natural to expect that the prince will ſtrive to rule without conſtraint, according to his own judgment and ſenſe of things; for the love of power is natural to every man: And if ſenators, and thoſe aſſembled to take care of the rights and liberty of the common people, are altogether paſſive; if they act as if they had no ſenſe, no opinion, no judgment of their own; if they tamely agree to every requiſition that is made by the prince or his miniſter; and if, in conſequence of this tame, this ſequacious behaviour, the liberty of a nation is loſt, it is not the prince who is to be blamed; he hath acted naturally in his ſtation: It is the ſenators and others who have done wrong; they have betrayed their country; the blame lies at their door. And one cannot help regretting, that almoſt every miniſter of ſtate ſtrives, with all his might, to increaſe the prerogative of the crown, and to abridge the privileges of the ſubject. This is the more to be wondered at, as the continuance of a miniſter in place depends upon the mere will of the ſovereign; the miniſter may next day be turned down to mix with the people whoſe rights he hath ſhamefully encroached upon. The conduct I ſpeak of, can, I think, pre-

ceed from nothing but vile adulation, or as vile a desire to accumulate a miniſterial eſtate.

4th, From the temper of Rehoboam toward the Iſraelites, every maſter or ſuperior ſhould learn not to be harſh toward his dependents. The pooreſt dependents may have it in their power to retaliate, and may be exaſperated to retaliate in a very dreadful manner. But ſeverity toward inferiors is ſurely unmanly and unbecoming. The labouring part of mankind, eſpecially thoſe who till the ground, ſhould be treated with lenity, and allowed to live ſome way comfortably upon the fruit of their labour; and yet very often this is not the caſe: The new maſter ſays, in effect, to thoſe poor laborious and uſeful people, as Rehoboam ſaid to the ten tribes, "My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke." It ought not to be ſo; nor ſhould maſters of any kind treat their ſervants with rigour. If providence hath placed them in that humble ſtation, they are, however, partakers of the ſame nature with their maſters, and have the ſame exalted hopes of glory. Every thing reaſonable ſhould be done by the maſters to render their condition as agreeable as poſſible. "Maſters," ſays the great apoſtle, "give unto your ſervants that which is juſt and equal, forbearing threatening, knowing that ye alſo have a maſter in heaven, neither is there any reſpect of perſons with him." My next remark is,

5th, That in this hiſtory we have a ſtriking inſtance of the uncertainty and ſhort duration of worldly greatneſs, of opulence, and of liberty itſelf. The kingdom of Judah, united to that of Iſrael, had been aweful and reſpectable in the time of David and Solomon; but, weakened by the revolt of the ten tribes, Rehoboam was not able to protect the ſmall remaining kingdom of Judah. Solomon had made ſilver and gold at Jeruſalem as plenteous as ſtones; and in particular the richneſs of the temple was immenſe. But "the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord, and the treaſures

of the king's houſe, were all taken and carried away in the reign of Rehoboam. It was but five years after Solomon's death, that Shiſhak king of Egypt, came and carried away with him the gold veſſels of the temple; and, by forcing Rehoboam to pay him tribute, made the kingdom of Judah a province of Egypt. The gold laid up by David, the gold which Solomon acquired by commerce, and the gold which he levied from his ſubjects, by the heavy yoke he laid on them; all, even all of it, ſoon became the prey of a rapacious ſpoiler. How tranſient is wealth and human glory! How quickly may a nation loſe its liberty, and become tributary to ſome powerful neighbour! A nation may now be free, and may ſoon be in bondage. A people may be rich, and may ſoon be impoveriſhed. So alſo may any individual; "Why then ſet ye your heart on that which is not? for riches make themſelves wings, and flee away as an eagle towards heaven. Why then make the gold your hope? or the fine gold your confidence?" Why lay a grievous yoke on the poor, that ſo you may lay up treaſures on earth? "Lay up to yourſelves treaſures in heaven," where no ſpoiler can come, where no thief can break through and ſteal. Aſſert yourſelves into that liberty of which all the powers of earth and hell cannot bereave you; freedom of ſoul, liberty from the bondage of corruption, "the glorious liberty of the ſons of God." By ſelf-government, and by faith in Chriſt, you will obtain this liberty; and if "the Son make you free, you ſhall be free indeed." Some of you may be ſervants, may be in ſtraits, in worldly trouble; yield yourſelves voluntarily to be conducted by the word and the Spirit of Jeſus; there is nothing grievous in his yoke; no ſlavery, but the moſt perfect freedom under his government. He calls upon you; "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and low-

ly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."

6th, I remark further, that the quiet, the strength, and even the independence of a kingdom, is endangered, when any of its grandees, or men of rank and talents, are provoked at home, and forced to seek protection in some neighbouring inimical kingdom. It is not to be expected, but that a man of talents, who hath been harshly used in his own country, will exert himself to irritate and assist those who protect him against those who have injured him. David, indeed, when he was on his march to fight against Saul, was restrained from shedding the blood of his countrymen; for the Philistines ordered him to depart to his home. And Themistocles, when the critical period came, chooſed rather to die a voluntary death than to help his royal benefactor to conquer Greece. But Jeroboam, more corrupted than that brave Athenian; Jeroboam, stimulated by revenge, fired by ambition, and encouraged by that esteem which he knew the ten tribes had of his political and military talents, and perhaps trusting also, that Ahijah's prophecy would certainly be fulfilled, did all he could to split the united kingdom of Judah, which would render it less formidable to its neighbours than it had been under David and Solomon; for, as David had been a great warrior, had conquered Edom, and even Eloth and Ezion-geber, ports upon the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of Egypt; it can hardly be doubted, that Egypt dreaded the military spirit of the Israelitish nation, and even its commercial spirit, by which it had grown so rich and powerful in the reign of Solomon. Hence it was that Jeroboam met with a kind reception in the court of Shishak: He aimed and expected to be king of the ten tribes; and it is highly probable, that, as soon as he reached Egypt, he entered on the properest means to execute his plan, in which he was assisted by Shishak, who encouraged

the factious spirit, and pushed on the revolt of the ten tribes. Nay, I must presume, that a league between Shishak and Jeroboam was early entered into, and subsisted long; and that it was because Rehoboam was pressed and over-awed by the armies of Egypt, on the one hand, and by those of the ten tribes, on the other, that, without striking a single stroke, he delivered his capital to be plundered by Shishak, and his kingdom to be tributary to Egypt. Jeroboam co-operated with Shishak, and Shishak received the spoil. Thus it is that a designing prince, by an unexpensive kindness to a fugitive of rank and ability, is enabled to embroil the affairs of a rival kingdom; and thus a powerful kingdom doth commonly, like the lion in the fable, seize by force on all the conquests that have been made by itself and its less powerful allies.

I remark, in the last place, that even in Ahijah's prediction, that ten tribes were to be given to Jeroboam, the splitting of the kingdom is accounted a judgment of God, a severe punishment of irreligion and idolatry. Indeed, Ahijah's prophecy is not a bare prediction; it is a declaration of cause and effect, the stated order of God's providence. The people had gone into idolatry, and they are delivered over to be led into a system of idolatry, by the worldly wisdom of Jeroboam: "For thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee, because that they have forsaken me, and worshipped Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians, Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, and Milcom, the god of the children of Ammon, and have not walked in my ways, to do that which is right in mine eyes, and to keep my statutes and my judgments." And is there not cause to look on this war, which is already kindled, and which threatens a division of the British empire, as a judgment of heaven for our impiety and wickedness? Most certainly we deserve a stroke; for

we have been forgetful of God.—At the Revolution, our civil liberty was ſecured, and the pure religion was eſtabliſhed; the two Britiſh kingdoms were (the happy reverſe of what was done by Jeroboam) cemented into one by the incorporating Union; and to us a wide avenue was laid open to opulence. What have we done in return for all this bounty of providence? Why, religion hath been impudently deſpiſed; the divinity of the goſpel hath been queſtioned and oppoſed; the ſenſe of right and wrong hath been denied; daring attempts have been made to deſtroy the very foundations of religion and morality; impious and worthleſs perſons have crept into offices of truſt; and "the wicked walk on every ſide, when the vileſt men are exalted;" men who are profane, debauched, unjuſt, fraudulent, cruel, have been countenanced and encouraged in their impiety and wickedneſs. In our land, ſuch impiety and wickedneſs have been practiſed, as have, in all ages, been the forerunners of God's judgments upon ſinful nations; many have thrown aſide the very appearance of religion.—What judgments God hath denounced and executed againſt the Jews, moſt of you have heard or read;—what God will do, or how he will deal with you, I have no authority to ſay;—what he may do, you all know;—what you deſerve, every perſon ought ſeriouſly to conſider. Of all this it is my duty to put you in mind, and to call upon you to amend your ways and your doings, if you wiſh to eſcape the judgments wherewithal you are threatened. Truſt not to appearances; that opulence, that elevation to which ſome of you have reached, by your induſtry under the beſt conſtitution of government, may ſoon be blaſted, and the very conſtitution itſelf undergo the fate of other countries where civil liberty was once enjoyed.—And I have authority to tell you, that if you repent, and live by faith, all will be well with you, probably in time, and moſt certainly through eternity. When Reho-

boam and the princes of Judah humbled themſelves, and no doubt the people humbled themſelves alſo, the wrath of the Lord was turned away, and they heard the voice of God ſaying, "They have humbled themſelves, therefore I will not deſtroy them." In one word, my brethren, keep in mind the fluctuating and uncertain ſtate of all human affairs; turn your attention, and bend your courſe, toward that city which hath foundations, and that kingdom which cannot be moved. May God bleſs, &c.

SERMON IV.

ACHAN'S TRESPASS IN THE ACCURSED THING CONSIDERED.

Preached in the Church of Govan, on the Public Faſt, 1778.

But the children of Iſrael committed a treſpaſs in the accurſed thing: for Achan the ſon of Carmi, the ſon of Zabdi, the ſon of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took of the accurſed thing: and the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt the children of Iſrael.

JOSHUA, vii. 1. to the end.

I WILL firſt explain the chapter, and then offer a few obvious remarks upon the ſtriking hiſtory it contains. Theſe remarks may appear to be unconnected, and the enlightened hearer may poſſibly deſiderate that unity without which a diſcourſe is tireſome, becauſe it is imperfect; but a little variety will be ſome ſort of compenſation for that imperfection. Beſides the ordinary parts of ſocial worſhip, the explication and remarks I ſpeak of are all that I intend as the public exerciſes of this faſt-day; and, if I be able, I will recite all I am to ſay at one breath, without interruption; but if my ſtrength begin to fail, I will as uſual ſtop in the middle, and after ſinging a few verſes, proceed to what may remain of this intended ſhort diſcourſe.

Jacob's family conſiſted of ſeventy or ſeventy-five perſons when he went down with them into Egypt; and after they and their poſterity had dwelt there above two hundred years, their going up to ſettle in the land of Canaan is certainly one of the moſt celebrious migrations of ancient times.—It is ſo in holy

writ, and it is so also in the page of heathen historians. Phalantus, at the head of a few hundreds of Parthenians, migrating from Lacedemon to Tarentum, is but a diminutive affair, compared with six hundred thousand fighting men, their wives, their children, their cattle, travelling through the deserts of Arabia to Palestine, the land which God had promised to Abraham, their illustrious ancestor, conducted by a great personage, who was the soul of the expedition, was their captain, their legislator, and their judge. This you know was Moses.

Moses, the man of God, was now dead; he had, by conquest, got the lands of Og and Sihon, to the eastward of Jordan, which were sufficient for two of the twelve tribes to settle upon; the care of providing settlements for the other ten tribes did now devolve on Joshua. To effect so great a work, that brave and vigilant captain lost no time; he began with religion; he set the soldiers to the performance of some ceremonies and solemn acts of the Jewish system, to fit them for what was before them: He was called upon by God himself to be strong and of good courage; he had passed the Jordan by a miracle, for at that time the river overflowed all his banks: "And, as they that bare the ark came unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water, the water that came from above stood and rose up upon an heap." Joshua soon advanced to Jericho, the famous city of palm-trees; there he met with the angel of the covenant, with his sword drawn in his hand, and by him he was encouraged. The operations of war were instantly begun; Jericho was straitly invested; for seven days, "seven priests, bearing seven trumpets of ramshorns, compassed the city, and blew with the trumpets; and the ark of the covenant of the Lord followed them." On the first of the seven days they did so. "And on the second day they compassed the

city once, and returned into the camp: ſo they did ſix days. And it came to paſs on the ſeventh day, that they roſe early, about the dawning of the day, and compaſſed the city after the ſame manner ſeven times: only on that day they compaſſed the city ſeven times. And it came to paſs, at the ſeventh time, when the prieſts blew with the trumpets, Joſhua ſaid unto the people, Shout, for the Lord hath given you the city. And the city ſhall be accurſed, even it, and all that are therein;—and you, in any wiſe, keep yourſelves from the accurſed thing, leſt ye make yourſelves accurſed, when ye take of the accurſed thing, and make the camp of Iſrael a curſe, and trouble it. But all the ſilver and gold, and veſſels of braſs and iron, are conſecrated unto the Lord, and they ſhall come into the treaſury of the Lord. So the people ſhouted when the prieſts blew with the trumpets: and it came to paſs, when the people heard the ſound of the trumpet, and the people ſhouted with a great ſhout, that the wall fell down flat; ſo that the people went up into the city, every man ſtraight before him, and they took the city; and they utterly deſtroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and ſheep, and aſs, with the edge of the ſword." Here, moſt certainly, was a very dreadful carnage: All that we can ſay of it is, that the ruin of the Amorites was foretold ſome ages before; and the cup of their iniquity was now full. God hath right to deſtroy the wicked, and he can employ wind, or rain, or fire, or wild beaſts, or even men, good or bad, to deſtroy them. And we may further ſay, that the extirpation of the Canaanites by the Jews was no doubt appointed for juſt reaſons, though we do not fully ſee them; but we ſee and know, that what the Jews did by the command of God, in this caſe, is never to be drawn into a precedent; we are to act from the ſenſe of juſtice and humanity, agreeably to the eternal and invariable laws of righteouſneſs.

At Jericho, the Iſraelites met with a very cheap victory, and probably they expected a continuance of ſuch rapid ſucceſs; but, in the providence of God, a check is given to their ſanguine expectations, occaſioned by a daring ſin which had been committed. It is this incident with which the chapter opens. "But the children of Iſrael committed a treſpaſs in the accurſed thing: for Achan the ſon of Carmi, the ſon of Zabdi, the ſon of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took of the accurſed thing, and the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt the children of Iſrael." A proclamation had been iſſued in the camp, warning every perſon againſt touching the ſpoils of Jericho, under pain of death, and yet the children of Iſrael, that is, one of the children of Iſrael, had committed a treſpaſs in the accurſed thing; for it was at collecting the ſpoils of Jericho that this had been done. Accurſed, when applied to living creatures, men, oxen, ſheep, or aſſes, ſignifies, that they are to be violently put to death, by being ſtoned or ſtrangled, and then burnt with fire; but when ſilver, gold, braſs, iron, are ſaid to be accurſed, the meaning is, that they are conſecrated to God for the maintenance of his prieſts, or the ſupport of civil government. Achan's ſin was therefore ſacrilege; it was ſtealing or purloining God's property; and, conſidering the circumſtances in which the Iſraelites were at this time, it was extremely proper that ſuch a charge about the accurſed thing ſhould be given, chiefly, I think, for two reaſons: 1ſt, To teach the army ſubordination and obedience to the orders of their general. It is well known, that when a battle is gained, or a city taken, it is difficult to reſtrain the ſoldiers but a little from the plunder; and many a victory, half-gained, hath been totally loſt, becauſe the army began too ſoon to ſeize upon the baggage or the ſpoil. 2d, Becauſe money was to be accumulated for public uſes. Jericho was a rich city; the ſilver and gold found in it were to come into the

treasury of the Lord; and if any person should dare to intermeddle with the accursed thing, the spoils of this city, which was first to be taken, the immediate, the public, and dreadful punishment to be inflicted on him, would in future terrify every person from the like purloining and sacrilege. Hence it was, that God saw proper to mention particularly the several aggravating circumstances of Achan's sin, as we shall see in the 11th and 12th verses.

Before Joshua had any apprehension that Achan had taken of the accursed thing, being intent to carry on the war with all prudent expedition, he dispatched some of his officers to inspect the strength of the city which he intended next to assault. "And the men went and viewed Ai. And they returned to Joshua, and said unto him, Let not all the people go up, but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai; for they are but few. So there went up about three thousand men, and they fled before the men of Ai. And the men of Ai smote about thirty-six men; for they chased them from before the gate, and smote them in the going down; wherefore the hearts of the people melted, and became as water."

There were but twelve thousand, men, women, and children, in the town of Ai; and one would think that three thousand soldiers, especially when assured beforehand of being assisted by the captain of the Lord's host, was a sufficient number to cope with all the fighting men that could be there; but the Israelites were courageous before, and they are now timid. Hath not every thinking person observed, that at different times the same man is extremely different from himself? Sometimes the scholar can think, can study, can compose; at another time he can fix his attention on no subject, he cannot arrange his thoughts at all: At one time the soldier can look danger full in the face, and, without being dismayed, perform his duty; at another time he trembles like an aspin-leaf, is in

fear where no fear is, and runs when there is no man to purſue him. This is a circumſtance in the natural hiſtory of man, which, for aught I know, cannot be rationally accounted for. It is not always to be accounted for from ſome alteration in the body, with reſpect to ſleep, to labour or reſt, to food or drink, or diſorder in the mind, occaſioned by good or bad news concerning our outward circumſtances, or our friends; nor yet from a ſenſe of ſhame, or rebukes of conſcience, for any bad or ſhameful actions we may have done: Viciſſitudes of weakneſs, of imprudence, of timidity, come upon us we cannot tell whence nor how. What I here ſay relates to men in the ordinary courſe of life; but in the caſe before us there is an immediate interpoſal of God himſelf; he gives the ſoldiers a trembling of heart; they flee and are chaſed by thoſe whom a little before they had deſpiſed; they are in a panic, like thoſe of the army of the Philiſtines at Gibeah, when there was none but Jonathan and his armour-bearer to frighten them: "There was a trembling in the hoſt in the field, and among all the people; the garriſon and the ſpoilers they alſo trembled, and the earth quaked; ſo it was a very great trembling." Indeed, if the Iſraelites who went up the hill to fight againſt Ai, began to ſuſpect that they had embarked in an unrighteous war, were going to raze a city, and maſſacre its inhabitants, man, woman, and child, though theſe inhabitants had never done them any harm; haunted by ſuch a ſuſpicion, they might, though brave and well diſciplined, flee before the timid and undiſciplined men of Ai. It is impoſſible to conceive what a few brave ſoldiers will do, when they are thoroughly convinced of the righteouſneſs of the cauſe they are fighting for. It is equally impoſſible to ſay how great a number of brave and well diſciplined ſoldiers, if they entertain ſuſpicions of the righteouſneſs of the war, will, like the Iſraelites at Ai, turn their backs, and ſuffer themſelves

to be chaſed by a few undiſciplined peaſants, or timid rabble of a country. But though the hearts of the people melted, and became as water, there is no evidence that they ever ſuſpected the war to be unjuſt; neither they nor their gallant commander appear to have had any ſuch thoughts; for when the children of Iſrael fled before the men of Ai, Joſhua was ſurpriſed, and thrown into deep diſtreſs. "And Joſhua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord, until the even-tide, he and the elders of Iſrael, and put duſt upon their heads." It doth not appear whether or not Joſhua was along with the party who went up to deſtroy Ai. I ſhould rather think that he ſtaid in the camp. However that be, we ſee here that aſtoniſhment, indignation, concern for the public, ſorrow and fear, boil in the breaſt of that great man. Here are all the outward ſymptoms of the deepeſt affliction and grief; the general rent his clothes; he fell to the earth, on his face, before the ark, the viſible ſymbol of the divine preſence, till the evening, he and the elders of Iſrael, and put duſt on their heads; a ſtrong ſenſe of ſhame, a dread of being diſappointed where they thought themſelves ſure of ſucceſs; driven backward and deſtroyed by thoſe whom they expected they would eaſily drive before them and deſtroy; and, eſpecially, a dread leſt the neighbouring kingdoms, obſerving that an Iſraelitiſh army was chaſed by ſo few, ſhould all combine to chaſe them out of the country. But this ſorrow, this fear, this humiliation, is of the genuine kind; it brings them to God, to pour out their hearts before him; for Joſhua, after he and the elders had "rent their clothes, and put duſt on their heads, ſaid, Alas! O Lord God, wherefore haſt thou at all brought this people over Jordan, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to deſtroy us? Would to God we had been content, and dwelt on the other ſide Jordan. O Lord God, what ſhall I ſay, when Iſrael turneth

their back before their enemies!"—"For the Canaanites, and all the inhabitants of the land, ſhall hear of it, and ſhall environ us round, and cut off our name from the earth; and what wilt thou do unto thy great name?" This is ſpoken after the manner among men; and it is a devout expoſtulation in behalf of God's people, and the glory of God's name. It is like the pleading of Moſes for the people, when God had ſaid to him, "How long will this people provoke me? and how long will it be ere they believe me? I will ſmite them, and diſinherit them, and make of thee a great nation. Then Moſes ſaid unto the Lord, If thou ſhalt kill all this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of thee, will ſpeak, ſaying, Becauſe the Lord was not able to bring this people to the land which he ſware unto them, therefore he hath ſlain them in the wilderneſs." Such was the humble and ſupplicant poſture of Joſhua and the elders of Iſrael, when a part of their army had been defeated and chaſed by a deſpiſed enemy; ſuch was the devout ſtyle in their addreſs to God, expreſſive of their concern for his glory; they penitently ſay, alas! and pray that God may return to defend and protect their church and infant nation. And ſuffer me to obſerve, that ſuch too is the ſtyle of that royal proclamation, by which we are called upon to aſſemble and keep this faſt-day. The ſtyle is ſurely devout; and we have no reaſon to believe but that it proceeds from ſincerity of heart, "That we and our people may humble ourſelves before Almighty God, in order to obtain the pardon of our ſins; and, in the moſt devout and ſolemn manner, ſend up our prayers and ſupplications to the Divine Majeſty, for averting thoſe heavy judgments which our manifold ſins and provocations have moſt juſtly deſerved." Joſhua and the elders of Iſrael proſtrate themſelves before Jehovah, in a time of national diſtreſs; the auguſt monarch of theſe kingdoms, together with many of his

nobles, do, and call upon us to do the ſame. Subjects, it is ſaid, are prone to imitate the vices of princes and of perſonages in high rank; would it not be wiſe and right rather to imitate their good qualities? Moſt certainly; it is to be deeply lamented, becauſe it ſeems to be a prognoſtic of national ruin, that a ſpirit of irreligion hath unhappily come athwart at leaſt the northern part of theſe united kingdoms: Few, who are either born to an eſtate, or who make a fortune by ſucceſsful trade or induſtry, few of either ſort have any public profeſſion of religion at all. But can hiſtory furniſh out a ſingle inſtance of any empire or kingdom that continued long in proſperity, whilſt it had loſt all regard to any ſort of religion? For my part, I know no inſtance of that kind. And if this kingdom doth not contribute to its depopulation and ruin by its fond purſuit of this tedious American war, God hath many other arrows in his quiver to ruin a people who deſpiſe him, and who of courſe diſregard the everlaſting laws of ſobriety, of truth, of integrity, of juſtice, and honour. But I will not deviate from the text before me.—Joſhua did not yet know the cauſe of the defeat, the chace, and affront, that had happened to three thouſand of his army; he had fallen down, and he ſtill lies with his face upon the earth; but God comes to comfort him, and graciouſly calls upon him to ariſe. "The Lord ſaid unto Joſhua, Get thee up; wherefore lieſt thou upon thy face? riſe up," thou art innocent; but "Iſrael hath ſinned, and they have alſo tranſgreſſed my covenant which I commanded them." In times of ignorance there hath been much idle talk about the covenants with God, and the number of them. Every command of God, as we ſee here, is a covenant; and every covenant is a command; for, properly ſpeaking, it is impoſſible that weak mortals can bargain or covenant with the ſupreme God. "Iſrael hath ſinned," and the ſeveral aggravations of that ſin, as I

hinted above, are particularly mentioned. For they have even "taken of the accurſed thing, and have alſo ſtolen, and diſſembled alſo, and they have put it even amongſt their own ſtuff." It is ſaid, "That the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael;" and "therefore they could not ſtand before their enemies, becauſe they were accurſed." But it was only one man who was guilty; why are ſix hundred thouſand charged as being guilty of one man's ſin? Let it be obſerved, that whoſoever was privy to Achan's ſin, and concealed it, was in ſome ſort guilty. Theſe ought to have publiſhed the treſpaſs, that the guilty perſon might be puniſhed, or removed from the camp, and from among the people. But the reaſon that all are charged with being guilty of one man's ſin, is, perhaps, that none of them might dare to be guilty of the like in time coming. A people of a groſs and cloudy underſtanding were to learn to obey the commands of their general, and to with-hold their hands from money devoted to public and religious uſes. Without theſe leſſons, as I have obſerved already, they could not expect to conquer Canaan, nor to have a treaſury, gold and ſilver, the ſinews of war, for that conqueſt; and, till they inflicted condign puniſhment upon the tranſgreſſors, God tells them that he would withdraw from them: "Neither will I be with you any more, except ye deſtroy the accurſed from amongſt you."

Then God directs Joſhua how the people were to be prepared, and how the guilty perſon was to be detected. "Up, ſanctify the people, and ſay, Sanctify yourſelves againſt to-morrow; for thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael, There is an accurſed thing in the midſt of thee, O Iſrael. Thou canſt not ſtand before thine enemies until ye take away the accurſed thing from among you." This ſanctification conſiſted in external luſtrations, in waſhing their bodies, waſhing of their clothes, abſtinence from foul actions, and

being pure in heart, becauſe God was in a ſolemn manner to converſe with them. In this manner the people were ſanctified before God ſpoke the ten commands to them; and thus they were to be ſanctified, when it was to be diſcovered who had taken of the accurſed thing. This was to be done next morning. "In the morning therefore ye ſhall be brought, according to your tribes: and it ſhall be, that the tribe which the Lord taketh, ſhall come according to the families thereof; and the family which the Lord ſhall take, ſhall come by houſeholds; and the houſehold which the Lord ſhall take, ſhall come man by man." The ſeverity of the puniſhment to be inflicted is alſo intimated to Joſhua; "And it ſhall be, that he that is taken with the accurſed thing, ſhall be burnt with fire, he and all that he hath, becauſe he hath tranſgreſſed the covenant of the Lord, and becauſe he hath wrought folly in Iſrael." I cannot tell whether Joſhua kept ſecret the inſtructions God had given him, or if he allowed the method of detecting the perſon guilty of the accurſed thing, and the dreadful puniſhment he was to ſuffer, to be divulged in the camp. If this laſt was the caſe, it is a wonder that Achan did not attempt to make his eſcape. A Britiſh offender, in that ſort, would have taken a trip beyond ſea, pretending, perhaps, that he was going abroad for his health. However this be, "Joſhua roſe up early in the morning." I cannot help taking notice, that the early riſing of this brave man is often taken notice of in his hiſtory. In this particular, he is ſet before us as a pattern, whom every man of any ſpirit ſhould imitate. The tradeſman or artificer, who aims to make a fortune, or to be independent, ſhould riſe early, and tranſact his buſineſs; the ſtudent ſhould ſtart from the bed of ſloth, to ſee the ſun riſe in his glory, to acquaint himſelf with the nature, the hiſtory, the duty, and higheſt happineſs of men; the prince, the general, the miniſter of ſtate, ſhould, like

Joſhua, riſe up early, to promote the good and happineſs of that ſociety, be it great or ſmall, which hath committed itſelf to his care, to diſtribute juſtice to individuals and to the public.

By the care of Joſhua, Achan, the ſon of Carmi, was taken. The ſeveral tribes, and families, and houſeholds, and individuals of the houſehold taken, had paſt in review before the Lord, and the lot fell upon the tribe of Judah, and upon Achan in particular. Here it is to be obſerved, that the perſon detected to have taken of the accurſed thing, is no mean man; he is one of the princes of the moſt honourable of all the tribes; his great-grandfather was brother to Phares, an anceſtor of our Saviour, according to the fleſh. The manner in which Joſhua examined this unhappy criminal doth alſo merit our attention. In modern times, a prince would have committed the like buſineſs to a ſecretary, and the ſecretary to ſome ſubaltern or inferior perſon: Joſhua, however, examines into the matter himſelf; and, in this examination, though he be general of the army, and in great ſorrow for the ſin that had been done, and the affront to the army, of which it was the cauſe; he proceeds, however, with all that mildneſs that could have been expected from a parent or a brother. "My ſon," he ſays, "give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, and make confeſſion unto him, and tell me now what thou haſt done; hide it not from me." Nothing is more unſeemly than to inſult a priſoner, or to upbraid an unhappy offender with the criminality of what he hath done. Joſhua requeſts Achan to make an immediate and open confeſſion: This is giving glory to God; it is to acknowledge that he knows the moſt ſecret iniquity; and Achan very readily makes a full confeſſion, with all that ſorrow which ſeems to indicate a real repentance. "And Achan anſwered Joſhua, and ſaid, Indeed I have ſinned againſt the Lord God of Iſrael, and thus

and thus have I done. When I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I coveted them, and took them, and behold they are hid in the earth, in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it." The confession is penitent; it is full; and it is frankly made: And had the offence been of a private nature, and committed against Joshua in his personal capacity, I make no doubt but Joshua would have generously and immediately granted Achan a full pardon. When a person of any tolerable condition or character commits an offence against us, and afterwards comes and expresses his sorrow for having done so, we are in pain, and sorry to see him make such a confession to us, and we forgive him at once. But the offence of Achan was of a public nature; it affected the church and the commonweal.

Achan had confessed; but further steps were to be taken to impress all the congregation with horror and with abhorrence of the sin that had been committed. For this purpose, "Joshua sent messengers, and they ran unto the tent, and behold it was hid in his tent, and the silver under it. And they took them," took the Babylonish garment, the wedge of gold and the silver, "and brought them unto Joshua, and unto all the children of Israel, and laid them out before the Lord;" that is, before the ark, the symbol of God's presence in the camp; they laid them upon some high and conspicuous place, and every one in that great congregation saw them, or went up to see them, to look upon them. This, they were told, this is the accursed thing, this gold, this silver, this garment, stolen by Achan, is the cause that the anger of the Lord is kindled against Israel, that Israel cannot stand before their enemies, that they have been chased and smitten by the men of Ai. When the monuments of Achan's guilt had been sufficiently inspected, his

dreadful punishment followed. But first Joshua, and all Israel with him, seem to have sat as a grand assize to condemn him. "Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan, the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters," (who it seems had been privy to his theft, and had concealed it) "and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had; and they brought them unto the valley of Achor. And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled Israel?" The affront which the army had sustained, in consequence of the sin of Achan, had troubled and vexed the congregation of Israel. "The Lord," Joshua added, "shall trouble thee this day." And most certainly Achan must have been vexed to a degree that can scarce be conceived, to see his tent, his cattle, the monuments of his covetousness, and even his sons and his daughters, all carried along to the valley of Achor, to be burned with him in the same fire: "For all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones." I have said before, that Achan's repentance seems to have been sincere; so that, though he had been suffered to live, it was not likely he would ever have been guilty of sacrilege again. But it sometimes happens, that, for the interest of the public, a guilty person is to be punished in a more severe, conspicuous, and striking manner, than the guilt seems to deserve; and this seems to have been the unhappy case of Achan. The army, the rude and unformed people, were impressed with fear; they learned to obey their general; and I do not remember, that after this time any of them embezzled the things devoted to the service of God during all the days of Joshua. They took still another step to make the sin and punishment of Achan subservient to the public good of Israel: "They raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day." This great heap was like an inscription upon his

grave-ſtone; this would perpetuate the memory of his covetouſneſs, of his ſacrilege, and his being ſtoned to death and burned for it, better than any hiſtorical narrative could have done. Why or whence is this heap of ſtones? It is the grave of Achan, who took of the accurſed thing. This would, by terror and ſhame, operate upon the minds of that people, hitherto perhaps incapable of being worked upon by finer motives. Achan being now puniſhed, the Lord turned from the fierceneſs of his anger, and the Iſraelites ſoon began to be again victorious. By means of greater numbers led out to battle, and an artful ambuſcade, they ſoon exterminated the men of Ai, with the women and children, juſt as they had done at Jericho before. I finiſh the explication with this ſingle reflection, That if Achan's purloining of the public treaſure occaſioned ſuch diſgrace to the Iſraelitiſh army, what muſt be the caſe of a nation, where many of its counſellors are chargeable with Achan's crime? If it ſhall ever happen hereafter, that not one perſon only, but many, twelve or ſixteen, for inſtance, or forty-five, or two, or even five hundred, or at leaſt a great majority of the number, are careleſs about the public intereſt, graſping at the national revenue, and each of them coveting to enrich himſelf by ſeizing on the ſhekels of ſilver and the wedge of gold, muſt not ſuch a nation ſuffer diſappointment and diſgrace? Its revenues are embezzled, its ſtrength is decayed, its armies are marred or chaſed by contemptible enemies; it is ſick, it is in a diſeaſe which is like to proceed from evil to worſe. Can any remedy be found to ſave it from political death? If, whilſt the legiſlative body is corrupted, the morals of the peaſantry are yet tolerably pure, ſomething may be done; for even in the moſt deſpotic government the laſt appeal is to the people; the people may, by their cries and endeavours, find means to remove the patrons and tools of corruption from about the throne; by inquiries into

miſconduct, they may terrify the generals to act with ſpirit, and even oblige the ſtateſman to ſhake his hand from holding of bribes. But if the people be alſo corrupted, ſilent, unaffected, unalarmed, when, by the vileſt meaſures, the nation hath been loaded with diſgrace, there ſeems to be nothing that can ſave it from diſſolution; the fatal, the deſtined period of its exiſtence as a ſtate hath approached; the cup of its iniquity is full; it will firſt be a taunt and a proverb by its neighbours, and then theſe ſame neighbours will probably invade and conquer it. Thus all the ancient empires of the world came to an end; Babylon, Athens, Sparta, Rome herſelf, after all her conqueſts and worldly glory. We now keep a faſt-day, that this may not for a long time be the caſe of Great Britain; which may God of his infinite mercy grant, &c.

Having explained the chapter, I proceed to make ſome remarks upon the alarming hiſtory it contains. And, in the firſt place, I remark, 1. That a people who have formerly been ſucceſsful in war, are apt to be elated with a high opinion of their own wiſdom and ſtrength, and to deſpiſe the ſtrength of thoſe againſt whom they are next to carry on a war. The Iſraelites had ſucceeded againſt two kings on the eaſt ſide Jordan; they had got Jericho without any other labour but that of going ſtraight forward, and killing the inhabitants, after the city-wall had fallen. They therefore ſay, "Let not all the people go up and ſmite Ai; for they are but few." By the exerciſe of war, ſoldiers acquire ſkill in war; and, truſting to that ſkill, they ſometimes diſregard the God of battles; and, from a vain audaciouſneſs, they precipitately ruſh abroad into dangerous war, when equity and prudence might call upon them to ſtay at home, and live in peace. Thus Rabſhakeh defies the living God, and ſpeaks of Sennacherib his maſter, as if he had been invincible. "Beware," he ſays to the Jews,

" leſt Hezekiah perſuade you, ſaying, The Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Aſſyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?" Such too was the pride and the vain aſſurance of Pharaoh, that he would deſtroy the people of God when they were eſcaping out of Egypt. " The enemy ſaid, I will purſue, I will overtake, I will divide the ſpoil; my luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them, I will draw my ſword, my hand ſhall deſtroy them." And, in a ſpecial manner, this haughty expectation of ſucceſs operates ſtrongly, when thoſe whom a proud nation hath vanquiſhed already, are reputed to have been braver than thoſe whom it afterwards intends to attack. The proud ſtyle of language, then, is, " Is not Calno as Carchemiſh? Shall I not, as I have done to Samaria, ſo do to Jeruſalem?" And I may here obſerve, that ſuch too was the pride of many people, when the nation unfortunately entered into this laſting American war. The forces of Great Britain were thought invincible; the ſtrength of the colonies was reputed as nothing; and their ſouls were repreſented as being altogether timid and daſtardly: And this was not only the opinion and ſtyle among many of us at home, who, being uninſtructed, have not had acceſs to be informed what a wonderful ſkill and courage in war quiet and peaceable people may attain after they have been rouſed and united by repeated provocations; and have, from dread of ſlavery, applied long, and with ardour, to get themſelves diſciplined and trained in all the exerciſes of war: Not only theſe among ourſelves deſpiſed the Coloniſts, but even ſome conſtituent members of the high council of the kingdom are ſaid to have publicly repreſented them as being altogether weak and deſpicable. Such language, ſuch boaſting, muſt proceed from pride, mixed, I fear, with

a conſiderable degree of ignorance. It is at leaſt unbecoming; it may forebode ſomething very grievous. "Pride goeth before deſtruction, and a haughty ſpirit before a fall. Let not him that putteth on his armour boaſt, as he that putteth it off." Boaſting ſhould be excluded, at leaſt in the beginning of a war. Alas! we have heard of boaſting, to which no ſucceſs that the Britiſh arms have hitherto met with, doth, in any tolerable degree, correſpond. I remark,

2. That to have a high conceit of our own wiſdom and ſtrength, particularly in the affair of war, hath oftentimes been the cauſe of ſhameful diſappointment and ruin. The inhabitants of Ai "were but few, ſo there went up thither of the people about three thouſand, and they fled before the men of Ai." It is, I think, probable, that, beſides the ſupernatural effect of the accurſed thing, the people from pride went up to Ai, without a due regard to the order and diſcipline of war. Hence they ſuddenly flee; they are chaſed, they are ſmitten by the men of Ai; juſt as if, in modern times, a well diſciplined army ſhould, with two or three rounds of ammunition, venture to attack a number of incenſed country people, and ſoon find themſelves obliged to flee, and be diſgracefully chaſed by an undiſciplined rabble whom they had deſpiſed. Great is the diſappointment, and miſerable is the diſgrace, that often ſprings from pride and ſelf-conceit. The inland, or the diſtant provinces of an empire, judging themſelves aggrieved, may petition for a redreſs of the grievances which they think they ſuffer: Prudence will grant, that ſuch petitions, if decent, ſhould obtain a fair hearing, whether they be well-founded or not; becauſe, by a few lenient expreſſions, the complaints may be removed; but, from a contemptuous deſiance of the petitioners, and a high opinion of our wiſdom and military force, ſuch petitions may be rejected; and, from aſperity of language, and hard uſage, the kingdom may be unne-

ceſſarily, at leaſt prematurely, thrown into the flame and expence of a dangerous war. It was from a high opinion of his military ſtrength, that the ſon of Solomon loſt no fewer than ten provinces of his dominions; and from ſimilar cauſes ſimilar effects will ever be produced. It is from pride, that a ſtateſman, perhaps no ways renowned for ſkill in the theory or the practice of war, may venture to ſend to an officer in a diſtant quarter ſuch orders as cannot be executed. If the officer attempts to execute them, he and his army will be in danger of being, like the Iſraelites at Ai, chaſed back again, or ſmitten in the day of battle, or obliged to ſurrender their arms, and ſubmit to the diſgrace of being priſoners of war. The ſoldier who is proud is not cautious. "Pride was not made for man." To truſt to our wiſdom and power, is to throw off our dependence on God. "God hates the proud and arrogant. I am againſt thee, O moſt proud." In his holy providence, it often happens, that the "lofty looks of man are humbled, and the haughtineſs of men is brought low." The boaſts of Sennacherib againſt God's people were vain, and without effect. "Behold, ſaith the Lord, I will ſend a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall hear a rumour, and return to his own land." I might here ſhow, that a high opinion of our own wiſdom produceth as dreadful effects in economy, and in moral conduct, as it doth in politics and in war. A vain perſon, from a proud opinion of his ſkill and his good fortune, ventures to go deep in games of hazard, loſeth his eſtate, and plungeth himſelf into beggary and diſgrace. A young man, truſting in his ability to reſiſt temptations, goeth out of his way, ſeeking opportunities to go into the way of vice, when he ſhould liſten to the wiſe man's counſel: "Avoid it, paſs not by it, turn from it, and paſs away."—"The prudent man foreſeeth the evil, and hideth himſelf, but the ſimple paſs on, and are puniſhed." But I proceed to remark further,

3. That to purloin or embezzle any part of the national revenue, is, in proportion, a natural cauſe of national weakneſs, diſappointment, and diſgrace. The diſgrace of the Iſraelites before Ai happened, becauſe God had "made the camp of Iſrael a curſe;" and he did ſo, becauſe they had "committed a treſpaſs in the accurſed thing." But, in ordinary times, that is, when Heaven doth not miraculouſly interpoſe, to purloin, to embezzle, or miſapply the public money, muſt operate in the way of cauſe and effect; and ſometimes part of the public money may be literally purloined or ſtolen, juſt as Achan ſtole the ſhekels of ſilver and the golden wedge. It is, for aught I can ſee, miſapplied, when it is ſpent in foreign or unneceſſary wars, or in providing places, or penſions, or bribes, for any of the legiſlative body; and it can never be ſuppoſed that a wiſe people could give away their money, but for the defence of the kingdom, and the maintenance of civil government; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that a ſenſible people could put their money into the hands of the firſt magiſtrate, to be employed in a manner which tends directly to ſubvert the public liberty, and to beggar and enſlave the body of the people; for, when the revenue is miſapplied, new and heavier taxes muſt be impoſed to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate; by theſe taxes, it is evident, the kingdom muſt be weakened, becauſe it is impoveriſhed. There is, indeed, a new and ſtrange poſition obtruded upon the world, namely, that the heavier the taxes are, the nation is the more rich and proſperous; becauſe, ſay they, by means of theſe taxes, there is a quick circulation of money. However, this new-fangled doctrine is like to go ill down; it is, indeed, ſo palpably abſurd, that I muſt ſuppoſe the underſtanding of thoſe who eſpouſe it to be blindfolded, either by the expectation of receiving ſome part of theſe taxes, or by having already actually received of them; for a bribe or gift "blindeth the

eyes" even "of the wife." To misapply the revenue impoverishes the nation; it also disappoints the people of their just expectations, and brings disgrace upon the kingdom. In the first Dutch war, equally unrighteous and impolitical, Charles II. demanded and obtained very great subsidies from parliament, promising that he would equip a strong fleet, and perform some action of wonderful prowess against the Dutch; but he dissipated all he had got; I need not say how; it was in the manner that that thoughtless and sauntering monarch was in use to spend his treasure; his ships of war were laid up; he made some distant propofals of peace to the enemy; meantime de Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, came up the river Medway, and, by the help of a strong east wind, broke the boom, the cross chain, which, instead of a powerful fleet, was all the defence provided for Britain and the ships in the harbour; he proceeded to Chatham, burnt three or four ships, and carried others off with him. Thus, by the embezzlement and misapplication of the public money, the British shore was, in a time of war, left defenceless, the capital of the empire was alarmed, and, in the judgment of natives and of foreigners, the kingdom was exposed to contempt and disgrace. That to purloin or embezzle the public money impoverishes and disgraces a nation, might be shown at large from history and fact. In proof of this point, I have mentioned but one instance, and that at the distance of a hundred years backward. I will mention no more, lest I should seem to come too near to what may have been done in our own days. I remark,

4. That when any part of the public revenue hath been purloined or misapplied, or when unexpected disgraces in war have happened, it becomes the uncorrupted part of the legislative body to strive that the guilty may be detected.

If the morals of a nation are yet tolerably pure, an

attempt of this ſort will probably be ſucceſsful; where the people are already corrupted, to detect the guilty will always be difficult, and oftentimes impoſſible.

It is evident from the text, that all the army, the congregation of Iſrael, are called, are held to be guilty in the treſpaſs of the accurſed thing, till it ſhall be found out who is in fact the guilty perſon. To make this diſcovery, Joſhua himſelf is deeply concerned, and all the people concur with him. Even after Achan had made his confeſſion, the meſſengers ran to his tent, they ſearched, they found, and came running back with the Babyloniſh garment, the ſhekels of ſilver, and the wedge of gold. That the detection might appear complete, and the proof of Achan's guilt clear and deciſive, the accurſed thing is laid on ſome conſpicuous place, in full view of the people, juſt as we bring ſtolen goods into court where the thief is to be condemned. It was, indeed, eaſy to find out the guilty, when, by a divine and unerring lot, firſt the tribe was taken, then the family, then the houſehold, and then the individual of that houſehold. In this caſe, when the perſon taken by lot did alſo confeſs, the proof was as certain and deciſive as if it had been ſupported by the greateſt number of unexceptionable witneſſes. But to diſcover the guilty perſon now is commonly a matter of infinite difficulty. Will he who is ſuſpected and accuſed of purloining confeſs that he hath done ſo? In this corrupted age it is not likely; and if he be an old offender in that trade, it is almoſt certain he will deny ſtoutly, and even offer plauſible reaſons to ſhow that he is innocent. The difficulty will ſeem to increaſe, if ever it ſhall happen hereafter, that four-fifths of thoſe who alone can legally examine into the guilt, have themſelves, in one way or other, fingered ſome part of the accurſed thing. In a corrupted age, this matter is ſurely difficult, and it is tickliſh. I leave it off.—And I preſume, that any inquiry, whether a

ſtateſman who gave the orders, or a general who tried to execute theſe orders, is the moſt to blame that nothing was done to purpoſe, may be equally difficult in a time of general corruption. He that hath the moſt powerful friends will obtain that the documents which might militate againſt him may be ſuppreſſed. In one ſenſe, any ſuch inquiry may be ſtifled in the beginning, becauſe it will turn out to nothing in the iſſue; and yet, even in the worſt times, ſuch inquiries are not altogether uſeleſs, becauſe, from the dread of puniſhment, or a ſenſe of ſhame, they may be the means of reſtraining from the depths of vice thoſe who are not yet thoroughly corrupted. I remark farther,

5. That if a perſon hath purloined from the public, it is an evidence of ingenuous repentance, when he confeſſes his crime, and points out where all that he ſtole is hid, and may be recovered to the public.

Achan's confeſſion hath every mark of being penitential and ſincere. "Indeed I have ſinned againſt the Lord God of Iſrael, and thus and thus have I done." I ſaw, I coveted, I took,—they are hid in my tent. Here is confeſſion, repentance, and reſtitution. I feel all the movements of compaſſion for this Iſraelitiſh offender, who, though his repentance was genuine, yet it behoved, that, for the public intereſt of the church and ſtate of Iſrael, he ſhould be put to death. I am led to think that his guilt was ſmall, compared with that of many great offenders in modern times, ſome of whom I might name. The ſincerity and frankneſs of his confeſſion make me to think ſo; and I imagine, that, if an enlightened ſovereign, or an uncorrupted patriot, ſhould, in the mild language of the Hebrew general, addreſs himſelf to any half-detected offender in a civil or a military department: "My ſon, give, I pray thee, glory to the God of Iſrael, and make confeſſion to him; and tell me now what thou haſt done, hide it not

from me:" I imagine, I say, that few would make a clean breast, or answer with a candour similar to that of Achan. Would a treasurer, deeply guilty, an under-treasurer, or teller in exchequer, say, I beheld the gold as it lay sparkling upon the table; I was struck with its beauty; I coveted it; I took it; it is hid in my house; I have bought land with it; or it is secured for me in a foreign bank.—Or would a general make answer, I might have got myself informed about the motions of the enemy before they fell upon my army in the night-time; but I liked to save for myself as much of the gold as I could, and had not spies enough to bring me proper intelligence. Or, indeed I have sinned; I was in force to attack the enemy in their trenches, and disperse their army; but, liking the honour and emoluments of my office, I was afraid the war might end too soon, whereby I would sink to the rank I had held before I got the command of the army.—Or another; it is true, I believe the revolted provinces, where I was stationed, might have submitted to the clemency of my royal master; but I kept fast hold of the gold wherewithal I should have clothed and fed my men: I saw my soldiers hungry and naked, and, instead of leading them to support my brother general, who about that time was made prisoner, I let them loose to pillage the houses, and drive away the cattle of the innocent peasants; if any of these peasants pretended to defend or hide their effects, or to convey their cattle out of my way, I first called them thieves, next fell upon them with the sword, and then set fire to their villages, and burnt them to the ground.—Or if, by the rueful effect of his violent and foolish measures, a statesman is forced to acknowledge part of his guilt, will he, like Achan, make a thorough confession? will he make that confession frankly, whilst it may be available to remove the public curse? You may, perhaps, hear him say, I made rapidly several violent

laws; I defended them for many years; I see they ought to be repealed; I was wrong in urging the taxation; I kindled the flames of a war, bloody, ruinous, and disgraceful; I am now to offer a concession, which I think better than to continue the war for three or four years longer.—To say all this, is no doubt humiliating; and yet I presume it is confessing by far too little, to make the world believe that his repentance is as sincere as was that of Achan. Few statesmen, in these dregs of time, make any such confession; though it is to be feared there is a variety of striking materials, from which very ample confessions of that sort might be formed. In modern times, few great offenders are detected, fewer incline to make any confession, and fewer still to make restitution. But if the wife or the daughter of a new-made man appears at a birth-day, or a court-ball, dressed in a goodly Babylonish garment, worth many shekels of silver and wedges of gold, adorned with jewels equal in value to half the revenue of a little kingdom; this, this hath sometimes given ground to conjecture, that the husband or father had seen, had coveted, had put forth his hand, and committed a "trespass in the accursed thing." I remark farther,

6. That neither high rank nor opulence ought to screen egregious criminals from condign punishment. Achan was a person of very high rank; he was the son of Zerah, who was at least the second prince of the tribe of Judah, the most honourable of all the twelve. Nor is his coveting the gold and silver any proof that he was poor; it is rather a presumption that he was rich. In all ages, they were the rich who were the most covetous as well as the most oppressive. "Do not rich men oppress you?" was a question put above seventeen hundred years ago by a man inspired; and the same question would be answered in the same manner it was then, were it put in the age we live in. But neither Achan's rank nor

his opulence afforded him any ſcreen againſt a public trial, and as public a puniſhment. There is not ſo much as one perſon who opens his mouth to plead for him. Matters go quite differently now. If a Britiſh Achan is half-detected, (which indeed will rarely happen) his friends, as guilty perhaps as himſelf, will plead ſtrongly in his behalf. He is of noble extraction, will they ſay; his family was always loyal; himſelf hath long been a faithful ſervant to the crown. If it is foreſeen, that, if a fair inquiry is allowed to proceed, a great proportion of the accurſed thing, that is, of the public monies, will be found in his hand, they will obtain a mandate from the ſovereign, to ſtop all further inquiry till the royal pleaſure is known, which perhaps may never happen; and ſo the great defaulter keeps, and is allowed to keep, all that he had purloined. Thus it commonly fares with our Achans of rank and opulence: But if a poor cottager, groaning under heavy taxes, and dreadfully oppreſſed by a ſcrewed rent; or if a workman, living under the dreadful expectation of new corn-bills, ſteals a beggarly ſheep to keep in the lives of his ſtarving family; then, then the ſpirit of our judges and lawyers, like the ſpirit of a pack of dogs when a timid hare is ſtarted, is all up at once; the law is armed with rigour againſt this poor thief; the edge of it is ſharpened, is levelled againſt the neck of this friendleſs, this contemptible offender. But I like not to ſay more about the different manner in which great and poor offenders are treated; it is certainly ſhameful, and deeply to be lamented. I further remark, from the text before me,

7. That when a warlike nation is leſs ſucceſsful in war, and appears to be weaker than it was formerly, there is cauſe to fear that the neighbouring nations may combine to invade and conquer it. Joſhua is in great fear upon this head: "O Lord God, what ſhall I ſay, when Iſrael turneth their back before their ene-

mies; for the Canaanites, and all the inhabitants of the land, ſhall hear of it, and ſhall environ us round, and cut off our name from the earth." It was from fear that the neighbouring nations ſhould combine to ruin him, that Joſhua rent his clothes, and expoſtulated with God: "Wherefore haſt thou at all brought this people over Jordan? would to God we had been content to dwell on the other ſide Jordan." JORDAN, it excited as much fear, at that time, to croſs the river Jordan, as it doth now to croſs the Atlantic ocean. Would to God, ſays Joſhua, we had been content to dwell on the other ſide of this river, this ſea, this bed of water, rather than be affronted by our being defeated and chaſed by the few inhabitants of ſo contemptible a town; and, by loſing our character of being a military people, expoſe ourſelves to the danger of being cut off by a combination of the neighbouring kings. It muſt, indeed, ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that kingdoms ſhould combine to conquer a kingdom that is become weak already, either by the operation of natural cauſes, or by its own fooliſh projects; ſhould they not rather aſſiſt it to emerge again from its weakneſs? But if that kingdom hath formerly been dreadful to thoſe combined powers, they may be led to the conqueſt of it, from a ſenſe of national honour and of national revenge. I know it is maintained by ſome, that both the individuals and the ſocieties of men are miſchievous to their neighbours, juſt in proportion as they have power to be miſchievous. I would fain hope that this is not the caſe; and, happily for the honour of human nature, I recollect one inſtance to the contrary: The Athenians and Spartans were for ſeveral ages rivals in power; and yet, when the former ſaw the Spartans likely to be altogether ruined, they haſtened to their aſſiſtance and deliverance. But Joſhua had good reaſon to fear that the ſeveral tribes of the Canaanites would unite againſt him: They had heard that the Iſraelites were

given out to be invincible; they now saw that the inhabitants of a pitiful town, upon which, humanly speaking, they were making an unprovoked attack, were able to overcome them; was it not natural to expect that all the provinces in Canaan would, with a combined force, fall upon these invaders, and drive them back again to the other side Jordan? But, in modern times, a nation that has sunk in its warlike reputation is never in so much danger of being conquered by the neighbouring states, as when some of these states are its rivals in manufactures and in commerce. Here is a rational motive; by ruining that nation, they promote their own interest. This, I fear, is the case of Great Britain. Our warlike character is sunk or lost, and a rival kingdom may avail itself of that loss. In this American war, indeed, we have conquered several islands, one or two open American towns, and two or three provincial forts: But we have lost abundance of brave men, many millions of treasure, and, which is more than all, we have lost our character of bravery in war; and the more so, as we gave out at first, that the people we were going to fight against were altogether cowardly and contemptible. In the beginning of every campaign, we have boasted that the war would be finished that year; and yet whether we be abler to conquer America now than when we rashly began the war, is a point I do not know, nor, if I knew it, would it become me, on one supposition, to speak it out. We have often heard of new manœuvres that would produce some wonderful effects, and strokes have been threatened that would astonish all Europe; but hitherto, during the many years of this expensive, tiresome, and inglorious war, not a single gallant or splendid action hath been performed, either by our army or our fleet. Indeed, almost as little in that style hath been done by the colonists; but the wonder is less; for from that quarter nothing of that kind

was or could well be expected. The two contending parties have looked angry, and have done little; is it to be hoped that they may yet agree?

In my juvenile years, I remember to have seen two rich but angry citizens run furiously to meet each other on the public street; an uncommon fierceness sparkled in their eyes; I trembled, for I dreaded there would be bloodshed; each of them had a switch, with which he aimed to strike, but still kept back his hand; each of them swore bloodily that he would instantly wound, and kill, and massacre his opponent, till a gentleman, a friend to both, came past, who, calling upon them to agree, told them, that a person, whom he named, was coming up, who had abundant strength, and also a violent inclination to maul each of them to purpose, or, as he expressed it, to *pay them both well*; upon which the two angry combatants retired peaceably. And is it not possible that there may be one kingdom in Europe, France for instance, which, after Britain and the Colonies shall not only have looked angrily, but also weakened one another, shall have strength and also inclination to conquer them both? God grant that the parent and the children may soon return to live in friendship and peace; and that the ambitious designs of France against Britain and the Colonies may be for ever disappointed! Evil, great worldly evil, hath overtaken us; it will be our own fault, if, by God's grace, and our sincere repentance, that evil do not turn out to our greatest, our spiritual and eternal good. I remark next,

8. That it is oftentimes advantageous to an individual, or to a society, to meet with checks in the midst of prosperity. When a nation is marred of success in its enterprises, the patriotic statesman is set a-thinking, and if the plan of war he hath hitherto pursued appear to have been erroneous, he corrects its imperfections, or, like Cæsar at Dyrrachium, he lays it altogether aside, and substitutes something better in its

place: The general improves the diſcipline and corrects the morals of his ſoldiers; the religious commander, like Joſhua, exhibits to the army a proper pattern of ſerious devotion, calls upon the ſoldiers to purify themſelves, and ſtrives to inſtil into them a ſpirit of religion, of ſubordination and order. Had the Iſraelites ſucceeded in their firſt attempt againſt Ai, Achan might have thought there was no matter whether one regarded a divine command or not; their defeat tended to convince all the army that there are ſome bad and impious practices which will be attended with diſappointment and diſgrace. And with reſpect to individuals, there are very few who can bear with an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity; adverſity calls off the mind from worldly affairs, and fixeth it on things moral, heavenly, and divine. We may fail of ſucceſs in the firſt; in the other, which are infinitely more valuable, if it is not by our own fault, we can never fail. Temptations to vice throng around us thicker than motives to virtue; and, in the time of proſperity, we are off our guard. Happy had it been for many a perſon, had he by adverſity been early rouſed to ſolemn thought, checked in the career of his folly, and reſtrained from going to an exceſs in riot. So evident is it, that to meet with checks, in the midſt of ſucceſs, may be uſeful to individuals and to ſocieties. I now remark, in the laſt place,

9. That when a people, accuſtomed to be victorious, are diſappointed of ſucceſs againſt a weak enemy, they ought to be ſenſible of their own weakneſs, and humble themſelves before God. Succeſs in war is from God; but the proper means are to be uſed. And it need be the leſs wondered at, that in one war a nation hath been ſucceſsful, and in another, though leſs formidable, and its ſtrength nearly as before, it is miſerably baffled and affronted: In the firſt, the plans may have been laid, and the ſprings of action ſet a-moving by a miniſter, whoſe very name made power-

ful combined kingdoms to tremble; who had ſagacity to chooſe a Wolfe and a Hawke to execute his plans, and under whoſe animated adminiſtration no officer dared to protract the war, that he might the longer enjoy the emoluments and honour of command. In the other war, the nation may have been leſs fortunate, both with reſpect to plan and to execution. Be that as it may, when a martial people have failed of ſucceſs againſt a weak enemy, it becomes them to be ſenſible of their own weakneſs, and to humble themſelves before God. Joſhua, by his devotion; Joſhua and the elders, by their humble poſture, ſhow that they are ſenſible of their weakneſs. They come to God to receive aſſiſtance and direction from him; and God in mercy tells them how the curſe was to be removed from the camp. And may it not be hoped, that, if all ranks be humbled and repent, God will in his providence diſcover to our moſt gracious king, and to his ſorrowful, confounded, and penitent miniſters, how this war is to be ſucceſsfully puſhed, or finiſhed in ſuch a manner as ſhall be moſt for the advantage of Britain and of the Colonies alſo? On this faſt-day we are called upon to ſend up our fervent prayers to Almighty God, that a ſpeedy and comfortable end may be put to this irkſome and ruinous American war. And who is he that doth not wiſh and pray for ſo deſirable an event? But all our petitions for worldly things, even for ſucceſs and victory to our armies, are ſtill to be offered up in ſubmiſſion to the will of God. Will we dictate to infinite wiſdom? will we wreſt the ſceptre of government out of God's hand? All that is yet done may, by prudence and a ſeaſonable departure from violent and coercive meaſures, ſoon iſſue in reconcilement and peace. But what is yet to happen in this great conteſt, God only knows: "His counſel ſhall ſtand, and he will do all his pleaſure." We muſt reſignedly leave the iſſue of it to his infinite wiſdom. We know

nothing. For, are we ſure that an acceſſion of power to the crown and miniſtry of Britain will tend to prolong the liberty of the ſubject? Are we ſure that ſuch acceſſion will not produce an effect ſimilar to that which the wealth of Flanders, and the gold of Mexico and Peru, had upon the liberty of Caſtile and Arragon, when that wealth and gold came into the hands of Charles V. and his ſon? Do we pray for a greater influx of riches into this country? But what good effect hath the ſucceſsful trade and commerce, laid open to us by the Union, produced upon the virtue or happineſs of the bulk of our people? Have not a few only been enriched, and the reſt been borne down and oppreſſed? Have not moſt of theſe enriched few grown proud, irreligious, ſelfiſh, cloſe-handed, and oppreſſive? Have not the multitude been trampled upon, been ſqueezed by a few rapacious maſters, and rendered more miſerable than ever? The conqueſt of America is indeed a grand object, and we are called upon to faſt and to pray for it; but we pray for many things which are very hurtful to us when we get them; and we are very far from being ſure that God will grant us to ſucceed in this great conteſt.

We have heard that a great ſtateſman, who, it is ſaid, was no ways haſty to ſpill the blood of our inveterate enemies on the plains of Minden, but was well enough diſpoſed to purſue coercive and ſanguinary meaſures againſt our revolted brethren in America, did not long ago declare in parliament, that he at length ſaw that Great Britain could not conquer America; and that if ſhe could, that conqueſt would not be for the intereſt of Britain. It is evident, that if America is conquered at all, it muſt be done either by perſuaſion or by force, or by a mixture of both: By perſuaſion, by mild and equitable meaſures, ſuch as might have been eſpouſed at firſt, I hope a reconcilement may ſtill take place; or, if the Americans

are firſt over-awed by the Britiſh armies and fleets, and then allured by gentle offers, they may be, I am ſure they ought to be, reconciled to the parent-country. To conquer in either of theſe ways would, I think, be for the preſent intereſt of Britain. But if by conqueſt the noble lord meant mere force, I am not ſure but we ſhall be obliged to accede to his opinion. Mere force may imply a complete extermination; and how this could tend to the intereſt of Britain, I cannot for my life perceive. The Jews, it is true, did completely exterminate the Canaanites, but they were ready themſelves, to the number of two millions, to occupy that narrow vacant country. Will the Britons, to a man, emigrate to America, and leave this fair iſland a deſart? If we extirpate the Americans, will not ſo fine a country be again inhabited? and may not God in his providence have permitted the many imprudent ſteps that have been taken, for many years paſt, that he might exhibit and hold up that great continent to the view of all the world, and to aggrandiſe a riſing empire, which the ſchemes of ſhort-ſighted men pretend to cruſh and annihilate? Will we people that wide country from Aſia, and from Europe, that is, from Ruſſia and from Germany, or other countries where the poor inhabitants are oppreſſed? Are we ſure that theſe ſuppoſed new inhabitants of America will not imbibe the natural principles of liberty and independence, on account of which principles we now fight againſt the preſent inhabitants? Will we prevent this by a ſtanding army? (if we have wealth to keep a great army there); it is evident, that, with an army over their heads, a colony will never thrive, or be of any uſe to the parent-country; it will quickly decline, and come to nothing, juſt as a bloſſom is blaſted by a keen froſt, or nipped in the bud by a withering north wind. But why do I try to ſpeculate in this manner? God hath it in his power to change the minds of Britons and

Americans from the love of war, and to cement them in the bands of friendſhip, though commonly this is done ſlowly, by rational motives, and by a long courſe of mutual good uſage.

The conteſt about America is momentous: Britain aims to hold in due and perpetual ſubjection the numerous and faſt-multiplying inhabitants of a diſtant and extenſive continent, twenty times larger than her own European territories. The object in view is certainly great; perhaps there never was an aim equal to it in the hiſtory of mankind; and yet, from too much keenneſs to ſucceed in this aim, it is poſſible we may not only weaken, but even ruin our native country; and this, I think, may, in ſome degree, be occaſioned by theſe amazing levies that are now carried on, by which our manufactures, and agriculture itſelf, muſt greatly ſuffer. We have by far too few working people already; of this the king's ſervants in Scotland are ſo well apprized, that, not ſeven years ago, one of them applied to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, inſiſting that they would give orders to the cuſtom-houſe officers to ſtop all emigration. He even publicly declared, that if any of the poor farmers left their houſes, and ſhould travel towards the port, to embark for America, he would array the fencible men of the county, and drive them back to their dreary abodes. A quite different ſyſtem hath of late, and all at once, been greedily embraced; and, in this northern part of the iſland, it is keenly purſued; purſued at an expence that is enormous, and almoſt incredible; nobles, gentlemen, cities, boroughs, towns, and villages, are all a-ſtir, all buſy at levying numerous double regiments to be ſent to America. Never was one-fiftieth part of ſuch keenneſs ſhown againſt the French, in any of the attempts they made to conquer us, and bring us under popery and arbitrary power. There may be wiſdom in the keen puſhing of theſe levies, but it is not eaſy for an ordinary un-

derſtanding to diſcover it. It brings on depopulation at once.

I ſpoke of former attempts of France againſt Britain. It is juſt now ſtrongly reported, that a new war is ſoon to be raiſed againſt us by that powerful kingdom. Is it not proper, that Britain and America ſhould both chooſe to be juſt as they were during the laſt French war, when, being united in affection and in arms, they were a match, and more than a match, to the united powers of France and Spain? Ought not the parent-country and the Colonies to enter into a ſtrict and friendly union of any kind whatſoever, rather than that either or both ſhould lie at the mercy, or be brought under the dominion of that powerful and perfidious people? Would not the Americans flouriſh more and more, being enriched by the Britiſh trade, and powerfully protected by the Britiſh navy? And ſhould they not paſs over a few cauſes, perhaps juſt cauſes, of complaint, and flee to defend a parent, againſt whom a violent, and perhaps mortal blow is aimed by a determined enemy? And would it not be noble in Britons, to be even the firſt to depart from ſtrife, and enter again into friendſhip with theſe Colonies, againſt whom they now prepare to fight with greater numbers than ever? God knows with what ſucceſs.

But I am at the end of the diſcourſe. Let us all, agreeably to the pious deſign of this day, repent of our ſins, and pray to God, that he may ſave the Britiſh empire, and all its parts, from ruin. "Spare, O Lord, thy people; give not thine inheritance to reproach."—"Let us ſend up our prayers and ſupplications to the Divine Majeſty, for averting thoſe heavy judgments which our manifold ſins and provocations have moſt juſtly deſerved." Let us pray, that God may inſpire our king and his counſellors with that wiſdom which is from above; that he may give ſucceſs to the humane means uſed, or to be uſed, by

which this tedious war may be brought to an end, without any further ſhedding of Chriſtian and kindred blood; that the Americans may throw aſide the weapons of hoſtility, and, embracing fair and equitable offers of liberty and peace, be cemented into a complete and laſting friendſhip with Great Britain; then ſhall all "the king's loyal ſubjects in the American provinces be delivered from violence, injuſtice, and arbitrary power;" then we will be the leſs alarmed by any ſudden fear, and, by God's help, be able to repel the unprovoked invaſion of our old enemies, if it cometh.

My friends, it is not from a vague report that we ſpeak, but by intelligence openly communicated to the Houſe of Commons, by ſome members of that Houſe: Hereby we have been informed, that this kingdom is ſoon to be invaded by France, or obliged to defend itſelf againſt a French war. The ſtrength of our fleet and of our army is now abroad, occupied in the war againſt the American colonies. As ſubjects of this anciently free ſtate, muſt we not wiſh and pray that the kingdom of Great Britain may be for ever ſafe and free, defended, as it hath hitherto been, by the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlaſting ſtrength? But, in our private and perſonal capacity, as rational and accountable creatures, we are to ſtrive, that, by faith and holineſs, we may be members of God's kingdom, his kingdom of grace, and his kingdom of glory. Every man wiſhes for the proſperity and temporal greatneſs of his country; but what conſolation will the greateſt degree of ſuch proſperity afford to any man, at the aweful hour of death, if he be an ungodly, a debauched, a hard-hearted, and fraudulent perſon? The kingdoms of this world ſtrive, alas! to conquer each other. Let every one of us ſtrive to conquer himſelf, his appetites, his paſſions, his ſinful inclinations: He that overcometh himſelf, is "better than the mighty," and "he that ruleth his

ſpirit, is better than he who taketh a city." If, by faith in Chriſt, we have got this victory over ourſelves, we will, when the nation is in the tumult of a foreign war, enjoy at home ſerenity and peace, the peace of God, which paſſeth all underſtanding; a peace of which we cannot be bereaved, even whilſt we eagerly deſire to enjoy a national peace alſo.

My brethren, unleſs it be by repentance and by prayer, (and the prayer of the righteous availeth much) you can do little to bring this war to an end; but you have the conſolation to think, that you did nothing to give it a beginning; none of you were of a revolting ſpirit; none of you did, from love of domination, boaſt of the bravery of the Britiſh, and the cowardice of the Americans; you gave no fiery counſels to the miniſtry, nor offered any violent, but enſnaring, addreſſes to the throne, promiſing to ſpend your lives and fortunes in this war: Fatal ſteps, fallacious promiſes! by which Britain and America were ſet together by the ears, and drawn into that flame in which they have burned for ſo long a time; you have not taken of the "accurſed thing," nor pilfered any of the public revenue, nor taken any bribe to blind your eyes; you did not plunder the houſes, or lift and drive away the cattle of the innocent; you did not, on the theatre of action, embroil affairs ſtill more than they were; nor did you, by your timidity or folly, diſgrace your country: You can, with a ſafe conſcience, ſay, what ſome ſtateſmen and ſoldiers dare not ſay, "Whoſe ox have I taken? or whoſe aſs have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppreſſed? or of whoſe hand have I received any bribe? Here I am, witneſs againſt me, and I will reſtore it you." You are innocent of this ill-projected and ill-conducted war; your conſcience doth not challenge you for the heavy ſums that have been uſeleſsly ſpent; the blood of many thouſands that hath been ſhed; the wretchedneſs of many women who

have been left widows, and of many children, whoſe fathers have been mangled, or drowned, or ſtarved, or ſlain with the ſword.—To form a ſcheme by which one innocent man is to be killed, is an atrocious crime; to form precipitantly, and from baſe paſſions, and narrow views, a ſcheme by which many thouſands will be puſhed into eternity, muſt be a dead weight upon the conſciences of thoſe who formed it, when they awake, and begin to be ſenſible of their guilt; and if they are at all ſenſible of what they have done, it is a wonder they are not forced, from a ſenſe of ſhame, to hide their heads from the public view: Their caſe is certainly deplorable, till they repent, and confeſs each of them, like Achan: "Indeed I have ſinned againſt the Lord God of Iſrael, and thus and thus have I done;" for there is a judgment to come, when thoſe who have drenched the nations in blood, who have robbed the fatherleſs, and carried off the ſpoils of the widow, ſhall ſtand trembling before the tribunal of Chriſt, condemning themſelves, and anticipating the ſentence that is to be paſt againſt them.—You, my friends, when you ſhall ſee the ſign of the Son of Man coming in the clouds with power and great glory, lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh: Your hearts are purified by faith; you have not robbed, nor ſtolen, nor oppreſſed; nay, you have relieved the poor, when the rich, who ſhould have done ſo, ſhut their eyes at ſight of woe, and paſſed by on the other ſide. Though outward things ſhould not iſſue according to your expectation and wiſh, you have learned reſignation to the will of God, becauſe you know the Judge of all the earth will do right. In one word, though the worſt ſhould happen, if, whilſt our coaſt is but poorly defended, becauſe great part of our army and fleets are employed in another war, an army of French papiſts ſhould make good their landing on this kingdom, probably a popiſh pretender along with them, you,

who would have been diſtreſſed to take the field againſt your poor American brethren, will, if called upon, appear with courage, and in manly armour, againſt the enemies of the ancient liberty and religion of Britain. What though ſome of you ſhould fall in ſo glorious a cauſe! your peace with God is, I hope, already made; your memory will be renowned to lateſt poſterity, along with theſe other ſaints of God, who "waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens—were ſlain with the edge of the ſword, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better reſurrection. Come, you will ſay, come, let us play the man for our people, and the cities of our God, and the Lord do what ſeemeth him good." May God bleſs, &c.

SERMON V.

FROM WHENCE COME WARS?

Preached in the Church of Govan, on the Public Faſt, 1779.

From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your luſts that war in your members? Ye luſt, and have not: ye kill, and deſire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, becauſe ye aſk not. Ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts.

— JAMES iv. 1. 2. 3.

WAR is ſo hideous and deteſtable, that when any ſerious perſon ſees or hears of its exiſtence and its operations, he finds it natural to inquire into its origin, and to put to himſelf, and to the contending parties, if he hath acceſs to them, ſuch a queſtion as you have in the text, From whence come wars?—From whence come wars and fightings among you? And, upon a ſlight inquiry, he is ſatisfied, that ſo foul and ruinous a thing muſt be derived from ſome very polluted ſource: "Come they not,"—come not wars hence, even from your luſts that war in your members?

There are ſeveral ſorts of contention, each of which may be called a war. If a man is vicious, or but half virtuous, there is often a war within his boſom; his appetites and unruly deſires ſtrive againſt his reaſon. If one who hath not yet learned virtue, will, in an hour of thoughtfulneſs, look to what is tranſacting within him, he may perceive tumult, fighting, confuſion; one inſatiable luſt is ſometimes engaged againſt another; his avarice, for inſtance, againſt his

pride; at times each of them fights againſt conſcience, that deputy of God in the ſoul, and too often with a fatal ſucceſs: He may be ſenſible of their keenneſs, their onſet, and the victory they obtain on that interior field; he may even feel the wounds they have given, and obſerve the ſcars that remain. "Fleſhly luſts war againſt the ſoul."

In private life, after ſociety hath taken place, when the more powerful ſeizes on the property, aſſaults the perſon, or invades the life of his weaker neighbour, then there is a broil, a contention, a private war in the neighbourhood; and then a foundation is laid for an action at law: This too is a ſort of war, and, like other wars, it exhauſts, it gives pain, and the iſſue of it is uncertain. The poor injured perſon feels great pain, whilſt he is in anxiety about a deciſion, on which perhaps his very ſubſiſtence doth depend. And be he ever ſo grievouſly and palpably injured, he cannot be ſure of meeting with redreſs, eſpecially if he is very poor or in very low life. Society is corrupted, and courts of juſtice are corrupted in proportion. The weak is borne down and diſappointed, or, if in the iſſue he gains his cauſe, yet, by the great expence and protracting of the cauſe, perhaps for many years, he would not have been half ſo great a loſer had he never moved for any redreſs at all.

Great and wonderful is the influence of the opulent upon their neighbours in common life; as great is their influence upon the judges in our law-courts. Let me therefore by the way hint at an important advice, and I ſincerely wiſh that there may be few or none of you who ſhall ever have any need of it. Thou haſt been injured—thy friends are ſenſible that the injury is glaring and deep—thou art provoked—thy ſpirits are high—thy hopes are ſanguine—thou thinkeſt it a ſure point that thou will eaſily obtain legal redreſs—fallacious hope! Alas! thou art too poor to bear the expence of a proceſs at law; thou art too

little known; thou haſt no member of the court to puſh forward thy cauſe. If thou contendeſt with ſome great perſon, thou mayſt lay thy account beforehand that reſpect will be ſhown to the man with the gold ring and the gay clothing, the man who hath riches, who hath liberality of ſoul to furniſh out a copious and ſplendid entertainment to the judges: Believe me, and for once follow my advice; adventure not on a proceſs which will certainly be expenſive, which in all probability will be tedious, and however clear thou mayſt think it, its iſſue is extremely doubtful: Thou will be borne down and diſappointed; or, ſuppoſe that by ſome odd and favourable chance thou ſhouldſt ſucceed, yet it is fifty to one that, upon the whole, thou will be a loſer. Check that luſt which ſtimulates thee to take the field in this ſort of war; leave off the contention before it be meddled with; agree with thine adverſary by the way, rather than embark in a contention that will be expenſive and tedious, and the iſſue of it precarious; ſoothe thine adverſary, accept of his terms, or ſubmit the difference to the firſt ſtranger thou meeteſt with; if he be a man of ſenſe and common honeſty, the leſs knowledge he hath of our law, his deciſion will probably be the more conſiſtent with material juſtice. A proceſs at law, in moſt of our courts, is like trying one's fortune at a ſtate-lottery; a wiſe man who hath made one trial will hardly ever venture to make a ſecond.

I preſume the text would juſtify me, though, in this diſcourſe, I ſhould confine myſelf to that interior war, that torture which an unrenewed man feels, which, even when his luſts are kept from burſting out in flagrant acts of intemperance, injuſtice, or violence, yet they burn within him as red coals covered up with aſhes; or, ſhould I ſpeak only of that other war, going to law, which I have juſt now mentioned. But there is another dreadful contention, which is

more properly, and alſo more commonly called war, namely, public ſolemn war, that is, either when two independent ſtates arm themſelves for mutual deſtruction; or civil war, that is, when two different parts of the ſame empire are unfortunately at variance, and go to war with each other. It is in reference to one or other, or both of theſe laſt mentioned wars, that I deſign this diſcourſe; and this, I think, is to act with propriety on a day when we are aſſembled, by lawful authority, to confeſs our ſins, to implore the pardon of them, and to pray that God would give ſucceſs in that war wherein we have already been long engaged, and preſerve us againſt the violent hoſtilities of France, and the unprovoked attacks of that ſtrong and perfidious power.

From the text, it is manifeſt that there were wars among thoſe to whom St. James addreſſes this epiſtle; and of theſe wars their luſts were indiſputably the cauſe. That there are wars among Chriſtians now, is a mournful fact, of which we need not take long time to inveſtigate the cauſe: Luſts produced wars formerly, and the ſame, or ſimilar effects, do now alſo ſpring from the ſame or from ſimilar cauſes. "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even from your luſts that war in your members?"

In this diſcourſe I intend to do the following things:

1. I will mention ſome of theſe luſts from which wars and fightings take their riſe.

2. I will next ſhow a little more particularly, why it is that luſt, or the gratification of luſt, is the origin and cauſe of war.

3. I will take ſome notice of the miſery of thoſe nations that are engaged in war.

4. I will next ſhow, which ſeems to be intimated in the text, that it is ſtrange that Chriſtians, who have ſo much reaſon to live in peace, ſhould wage war againſt each other.

5. I will then mention ſome rules and limitations, which have been agreed upon to mitigate the ills of war.—And, in the laſt place,

6. I will mention, and moſtly from the text, a few reaſons, why a people who have ſome religion, or at leaſt appear to be ſerious, may continue long involved in diſtreſs, and even in the calamities of war itſelf.

I intend to ſpeak plainly, and to be ſhort on each of theſe particulars, which, as I apprehend, are all founded in the text.

1. I will mention ſome of theſe luſts from which wars and fightings take their riſe.—And the firſt I mention is the luſt of carnal pleaſure. This, if I miſtake not, is ſtrictly and properly called luſt in the ſtyle of ſcripture, and in common converſation. This particular luſt is as dangerous as it is impetuous, if it be not reſtrained and directed by reaſon, and by laws human and divine. And it appears evidently from ſcripture, from the moſt ancient hiſtory, and even from fable, that this luſt hath been the unhappy cauſe of bloodſhed, of maſſacres, and of tedious wars. —Another luſt I mention, which hath been the cauſe of wars, is the violent deſire of being rich. This luſt, as it occaſions broils and contentions in private life, ſo, in like manner, it kindles up the flames of war among the princes of this world. Many of them think, and ſome of them have been heard to ſay, "Why ſhould ſuch a prince enjoy a greater revenue than I have? The territories from which he draws the moſt of it lies contiguous to my dominions; a part of it belonged to one of my predeceſſors: The foreign commerce which he appropriates to his ſubjects, and which enables them to pay him ſuch immenſe cuſtoms and taxes, ought, in natural juſtice, to be laid open to my ſubjects alſo. Let us arm, and do ourſelves juſtice by a juſt and neceſſary war." Nay, it hath happened in our own times, that three princes in Europe did, from avarice, agree to ſeize upon a

great part of a neighbouring kingdom, which, by the efforts or the terror of their armies, they divided among themſelves.—A third luſt, from which wars ariſe, is ambition or pride. This luſt is, I believe, in the eſtimation of the world, accounted leſs mean and contemptible than the baſe purſuit of riches, or the wild deſire of ſenſual pleaſure, but it is certainly as pernicious. If we attentively examine the hiſtory of paſt times, we will ſee that princes have often raiſed war from the luſt of worldly glory, from an unbridled deſire to enlarge their dominions, and to ſee the neighbouring kings brought into ſubjection, and bowing down before them; or, from a luſt of glory as criminal, namely, to enſlave their own ſubjects, ſo that they ſhall not dare to think of reſiſting their arbitrary will, or even to mutter or complain of the grievous oppreſſion which they ſuffer. Theſe luſts, which I have ſo briefly mentioned, are the ſame which St. John enumerates, after adviſing us not to love the world. "Love not," he ſays, "the world, neither the things that are in the world; for all that is in the world, the luſt of the fleſh, and the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father, but is of the world." Luſt, in general, is the cauſe of war. To ſome one or other of the diſorderly appetites I have named, the riſe of every war may be traced. I will however mention, as a particular cauſe of war, the paſſion of revenge, which is, you know, the child of pride. This luſt, I doubt not, hath ſometimes been the cauſe of wars and fightings. A nation, from its ill ſucceſs in war, or from dread of being ſwallowed up or overwhelmed by ſome formidable neighbour, hath been perhaps forced to ſubmit to terms which it thinks unreaſonable and unjuſt. It keeps itſelf quiet for perhaps a long time: Like a bull in the foreſt, it collects all its ſtrength, and from this thirſt of revenge, renews the war, with a view to wipe off the affront it had received, and regain the

advantage it had loſt.—I may add, that ſometimes wicked miniſters of ſtate engage their maſter in a war merely to ſcreen themſelves from condign puniſhment; to divert or ſtifle the clamour of an injured people againſt their covetous and bungling adminiſtration, they wilfully involve the nation in all the miſeries of war: This, this, alas! hath often been done. I might perhaps mention many other particular cauſes from which wars and fightings come; ſome of them too ſhameful to be named: But every war is derived, as I have ſaid, from ſome of the general ſources already ſpoken of. "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even from your luſts that war in your members?"—Come they not from your criminal luſt after ſenſual pleaſure, or from a greedy deſire of riches, of poſſeſſing yourſelves of that which is the property of your neighbour? or from an ambitious deſire to appear in ſplendour, to be admired for the extent and value of your poſſeſſions, to have great power, and to ſee thoſe who are now your equals reduced to the neceſſity of bowing and cringing before you?—Or do not wars and fightings among you ariſe from a reſtleſs implacable temper, from a ſpirit of revenge, from an abiding reſentment of ſome perhaps real, perhaps very ſlight or imaginary affront or injury which you fancy you have ſuſtained?—or from the artifices of ſome mean-ſpirited and covetous miniſter, who, when the cry of an impoveriſhed and abuſed people grows loud againſt him for his blundering and inglorious adminiſtration, adds to all his other crimes that of involving the nation in laſting miſery, that he may keep his lucrative place, and ſtave off for a while that diſgrace and puniſhment which he richly deſerves. I will next ſhow a little more particularly,

2. How and why it is, that luſts, or the gratification of luſts, is the origin and cauſe of war.—And this is the caſe, becauſe it commonly happens, that,

by the illicit gratification of luſts, ſome of the ſacred rights of mankind are violated; then the injured perſon acquires a right to compel the injurious to make him reparation. When the injurer refuſes to do this, and by force maintains and defends the injuſtice he hath done, and the injured alſo ſtrives, with all his might, that juſtice may be done him, then it is manifeſt that wars and fightings muſt ariſe. This is the caſe between the individuals of mankind in a ſtate of natural liberty, and between kingdoms after political ſociety hath been conſtituted.

There are indeed certain claims, called imperfect rights, which, though they be violated, yet the injured party cannot by any law compel the fulfilment of them by force. If I, from compaſſion, aſſiſt a poor man, even by conſiderable ſums of money, to emerge out of his diſtreſſed condition into opulence and eaſe, I have no right to force him to reſtore to me what I had freely and voluntarily beſtowed to relieve him; let him afterwards become fifty times richer than ever I was, and let me be reduced to ever ſo poor circumſtances, I have no title to make any ſuch demand upon him, no title to commence any action at law upon that head. It is indeed highly fit and equitable that ſuch reſtitution ſhould be made; and it is manifeſt, that in aſſiſting and relieving the miſerable conſiſts the nobleſt exerciſe of virtue; and in making cheerful and proper returns for ſuch beneficence conſiſts the virtue of gratitude. The man who violates theſe imperfect rights is himſelf a very bad man; he is relieved by the generoſity of others, but he hath not the heart to make any return; his example tends to harden the heart of the opulent, and cauſe them ſhut their ear againſt the cries of the miſerable. God and conſcience require that ſuitable returns ſhould be made for good offices that have been done; but theſe returns cannot be forced; and if they ſhould be forced, they would ceaſe to be virtue.

But it is quite otherwiſe with reſpect to the rights which are called perfect; the right which a man hath to his property, to his life, to defend the life of a parent, to protect his innocent family, to defend the honour of a ſiſter, of a daughter, or a wife. Whenſoever any one offers to injure him in any of theſe particulars, he hath right to repel the injury by force; and if the injury be already done, he hath right to compel the injurious party to make complete reparation, or to make him ſuffer a condign puniſhment for his crime.

All that I have ſaid concerning the behaviour of individuals to one another, is equally true when applied to kingdoms. If a kingdom, or the ſovereign of a kingdom, ſees a neighbouring kingdom, or an infant-ſtate, in danger of being unjuſtly cruſhed and overwhelmed by a formidable power, and generouſly, and even at great expence, interpoſeth to defend and protect that weak or infant-ſtate; and by his noble efforts not only defends it, but, in fact, exalts it to opulence and grandeur, he doth not, however, acquire any right to demand or exact by force any return, any pay or tax for this voluntary kindneſs.

But when any king or ſtate ſeizes on the property of another ſtate, the injured, as I have ſaid, have an undiſputed right to demand reparation, and to effectuate it by open force. Without this right, and the proper exerciſe of it, human ſociety could not ſubſiſt: And it is from the violation of ſome ſacred and perfect right that every juſt and lawful war doth ariſe. One would therefore be inclined to think, that only one of the parties at war can be juſtly charged with being the author of the war, namely, he who committed the firſt injury: He is the aggreſſor; he gratified his criminal deſires, he violated the ſacred rights of others; from whence then come the ſubſequent wars and fightings but from him? He hath firſt done wrong, and next he maintains and defends by force

what he hath done. But quarrels would not laſt long if the wrong were only on one ſide; and in fact it often happens, that ſoon after the war begins, it becomes difficult to ſay which of the belligerent parties is the moſt injurious, and deſerves the greateſt blame; but it for ever happens, that in the courſe and progreſs of the war both the parties are wretched and miſerable. I will therefore in the next place,

3. Take ſome notice of the miſery of thoſe nations which are engaged in war.—In war, miſery is the lot of the weakeſt party, and the ſtrongeſt is commonly miſerable alſo. The weaker party, or the people whoſe country hath become the theatre of the war, are ſurely miſerable: In their moſt fertile territories the armies of the enemy are encamped; the officers are lodged in their beſt towns; the ſick, the aged, are dragged from their beds; the rich are driven from their houſes to make way for the eaſe of the rapacious hoſtile ſoldiers; the corn which the harmleſs induſtrious peaſant had laid up to feed his children, the clothes he had got to cover them, are greedily ſeized upon; his ſheep and cattle are driven from the paſtures, the keepers who attempted to convey them quietly to a hiding-place, are called thieves, and maſſacred, and left dead upon the ſpot; one province is over-run, one city is conquered after another —the inhabitants are cooped up in narrow bounds—famine purſues them—the furious enemy overtakes them—a ſiege is formed—a battle is ſtruck—nothing is to be ſeen but ſights of woe.—"If I go forth into the field, then behold the ſlain with the ſword; if I enter into the city, then behold them that are ſick with famine." Many thouſands are killed on each ſide—"dying groans are heard—limbs are ſeen flying in the air—there is ſmoke, noiſe, confuſion;—trampling to death under the horſes feet—flight, purſuit, victory—fields ſtrewed with carcaſes, left for food to dogs, and wolves, and birds of prey—plun-

dering, ſtripping, raviſhing, burning, and deſtroying." —Methinks I ſee the widow running, ſtaggering on the ſlippery, bloody field, amidſt the mangled corpſes of the dead and dying, and, ſtruck with the ſight of her expiring huſband, ſhe ſtops, ſhe graſps him in her arms; a ſight, a hold, which renders her more wretched than if the pangs of death itſelf had taken hold of her: She is bereaved, ſhe is left deſolate, ſhe ſees that by the loſs of the parent the children are helpleſs.—This is miſery—and yet, perhaps, cruelty proceeds ſo far, that a war of diſtreſs and deſolation is purſued;—houſes, villages, cities, are burnt to the ground—corn, large granaries of corn, if it cannot be taken away, is deſtroyed by fire—to the men no quarter is given, and even women and children are ſtarved, or barbarouſly put to death.—Thus it is that, in war the weaker ſide is miſerable; and it commonly happens, that in the courſe of the war, or at leaſt in the iſſue of it, the ſtronger is miſerable alſo; they are miſerable and in pain by every diſappointment, if the vigour of the other party is at times viſibly renewed; or if there be circumſtances which ſeem to make it probable that the half-vanquiſhed ſhall entirely elude the vengeance of thoſe who prematurely boaſted of victory. And ſometimes courage and a manly fury returns into the ſouls of thoſe who were damped, who were near to deſpair, and almoſt overcome;—they are emboldened, becauſe they fight in the cauſe of their country, they fight in defence of liberty—they determine that they ſhall oblige the conqueror to purchaſe victory at a coſtly rate—or, perhaps, like the Dutch, when unjuſtly invaded by the combined fleets and armies of France and England, they reſolve to emigrate to a diſtant land—or, like thoſe on an extenſive continent, who, having failed of ſucceſs, elude the rage of the conquerors, and diſappoint their aim, by leaving their poſſeſſions, and going far backwards to form new ſet-

riements in the defart—or, in an unjuſtifiable and highly criminal deſperation, they, like the citizens of Saguntum, burn their own houſes over their heads. And ſometimes alſo it happens, that, by a vigorous, a deſperate and ſucceſsful courage, they are able to chaſe out of the country that very army which for a long time was like to conquer them. Thus in war the weaker ſide are miſerable, and the ſtronger are ſo alſo. The prince, the leaders, may by luxury be hardened againſt the ſenſe of pain; but the people, the bulk of the people, are wretched. They are overburdened with taxes—the country is depopulated—the tillers of the land, and the uſeful artificers, are comprehended, are preſſed, are dragged from their neceſſary and innocent occupations, and forced to carry on the war whether they think it righteous or ſinful. The wife, the little child, runs often to the door and looks for the huſband, the parent, whom, alas! they ſhall never ſee again. Here too the ſoldiers are juſt as miſerable as thoſe of the weaker party;—their toil is as ſevere—their beds are as hard—their ſleep as precarious—and their food as coarſe and as ſcanty. If they retain any ſenſe of humanity, they muſt be ſhocked at thoſe acts of cruelty which they are hounded out to commit, and if they have been the inſtruments of committing them, they muſt be ſtung with remorſe. The kingdom, in ſtriving to be victorious at an enormous expence, which it can ill bear, reduces itſelf to poverty and ruin; and if at length it ſucceeds, thoſe in the upper rank may for a while enjoy a brutal and inglorious eaſe, whilſt they wallow in luxury and debauchery, devouring that which by the fortune of the war hath fallen into their fangs; but when that is devoured, they commonly, like hungry dogs, fall to work again, and worry, and bite, and devour one another. In ſhort, if a ſtate hath been victorious, and hath conquered an extenſive territory, it is but haſtening the faſter to its own

downfal: Either the fubjects, great and fmall, will become abfolute flaves under a defpotic maſter, or elſe the empire, being too extenſive, conſiſting of too many provinces, muſt crumble again into parts; parts, amongſt which all the horrible injuſtice, and all the horrible ills of war, are like to be acted over again, and ſuffered anew. I will next ſhow,

4. What ſeems to be intimated in the text, that it is ſtrange that Chriſtians, who have ſo much reaſon to live in peace, ſhould wage war againſt each other. "From whence come wars and fightings among you?" Among you who are the diſciples of Chriſt, the diſciples of the Prince of peace.

And moſt certainly, if people in every condition of life would imbibe the ſpirit of the goſpel, there would be few or no broils and contentions in private life, few or no actions at law, becauſe there would be no occaſion given for any ſuch contention. And if great men, the princes of this world, and their miniſters, learned and practiſed the doctrine of Chriſt, there would be no wars between nation and nation.

The firſt leſſon which Chriſt preſcribes to be learned in his ſchool, and learned by every one of his followers, is this, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himſelf." If this great leſſon is learned, and put in practice—if the luſts, the criminal deſires, and impetuous appetites, which I have mentioned, are mortified, no injury will be done, and of courſe there will not be any cauſe of war: Then men would "beat their ſwords into plough-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning hooks—nation would not lift up the ſword againſt nation, neither would they learn war any more—God's people would dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in ſure dwellings, and in quiet reſting-places:" Then the prophecy concerning the peaceful ſtate of things, in the days of the Meſſiah, would be literally fulfilled; the fierce and the mild, "the wolf and the lamb would feed together, the

leopard would lie down with the kid; the lion would eat ſtraw like the bullock; none of them would hurt nor deſtroy."

In the holy ſcriptures, many ſtrong reaſons are ſuggeſted to prevail on men to repreſs every angry paſſion, to perſuade them to do juſtly, to cultivate the kind affections, and cheriſh the ſpirit of benevolence and friendſhip. All men are formed and upheld by the ſame God; he is their common father; "he hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;" they are brethren —whenſoever any one is tempted, by whatever luſt or paſſion, to injure another, he ſhould think he hears the man of God crying in his ears, "Why ſmiteſt thou thy fellow? Sirs, ye are brethren, why do ye harm one to another?"

If princes, before they commit any atrocious and ſtriking act of public injuſtice; if lawgivers, before they raſhly enact any law which ſeems to eſtabliſh dreadful ſlavery and unlimited oppreſſion, would take time to conſider what alarm, what diſcontent, what rage and fury may be excited by ſuch haſty and violent meaſures; what wars and fightings may happen in conſequence of them, what battles may be fought, what blood may be ſhed; cities razed, and flouriſhing kingdoms laid deſolate; would not a ſenſe of juſtice operate on their minds? would not compaſſion for the many thouſands or millions whom they are going to throw into unmerited diſtreſs, check them in their furious career, and ſtop them from the execution of their criminal purpoſes? Would not fear of kindling the flames of war in their own country, and of ſeeing their own innocent ſubjects in diſtreſs and miſery, produce the ſame ſalutary effect?

But, alas! princes and great men, who in their palaces live in luxury and at eaſe, are but little ſenſible of the miſery which accompanies war; nay, even thoſe in common life are not half enough apprized

of its horror: For as ſoon as we are capable to attend to any thing, we hear, we read of war and the barbarous arts of deſtruction; with theſe arts we become familiar by degrees; we ſeldom examine how horrible they are, becauſe what we know of them we learn at an age when the mind receives ideas implicitly, admires any thing that appears great, and alſo retains the impreſſions that are early made upon it. Hence it is, that if a perſon in low life, to gratify his avarice, way-lays and murders another, we ſhudder at ſuch cruelty; but if a ſtateſman, to gratify his pride, his ambition, or luſt of domination, forms a plan, in the executing of which a million of innocent people ſhall by the ſword be hurried into eternity, we applaud the daring greatneſs of his ſpirit: The firſt is, with great juſtice, condemned to an infamous death, and dragged to a gibbet; the laſt, though infinitely more criminal, is gazed upon by a ſlaviſh and ſtupid people, and perhaps gets himſelf poſſeſſed of half the riches of a kingdom.

Eternal glory, of which the goſpel gives us the view and the hope—the fallacious nature of ſenſual pleaſure—the ſmall acceſſion of delight that ſprings from opulence or large poſſeſſions—the vanity of ambition or worldly glory, might, if thought upon, reſtrain Chriſtians from thoughts of injuſtice, and thereby cut off all neceſſity of private fightings, and of public wars. Let me add, that it is very ſeldom that a prince or a kingdom gains any thing at all, either money or territory, even by a ſucceſsful war. "They luſt and have not, they kill and deſire to have, and cannot obtain." On either ſide, let the war be ever ſo keenly entered into, let the principal ſubjects be all a-ſtir, and graſping at the executive power from the ſovereign's hands; let them levy many regiments at an enormous expence; let it be ſuppoſed that the war hath coſt the lives of millions of brave men, and millions alſo of treaſure; and that in the dreary courſe

of many tedious campaigns, many of the enemies being killed, and their treasure also exhausted, the war, on one side, is in so far crowned with success. Let it be further supposed, that each of the parties hath conquered, from its opposite, some town, or some barren island, or equally barren territory; yet, in the conclusion, it commonly happens that all things are agreed to be restored and settled on the same footing they were when the war began. Look at the treaties of peace that have been made in Europe for above a hundred years past, and you will find that this, or something nearly like this, is a preliminary article in the treaty, "The high belligerent or contracting parties agree, that whatever any of them has conquered from the other, in the course of the war, shall be faithfully restored, and that every thing shall remain for ever in that same state in which it was when the war broke out." Ridiculous! Why then did the war break out at all? What is now become of the elevated hopes, the loud boasting, and the proud expectations of thorough success? The mountain was in travail, was in hard labour, was uttering mighty groans, and not so much as one contemptible reptile is produced. Why then, after so many instances of successless war, why venture to repeat the dangerous trial? This view of war is so evidently ridiculous, that, many years ago, I have heard some able and enlightened people maintain, that the time would soon come when the princes of Europe and their ministers, however weak and ignorant they may be supposed to be, (and weak and ignorant, it is said, many of them are, to a very amazing degree) will so clearly perceive their interest, that they will finish all their differences by arbitration, or some other quiet means, without any longer entering into war;—a state of things which I fear is rather to be wished than to be hoped for. Hitherto it would seem that the rulers of kingdoms do often kindle up the flames of war

without knowing why, without having any ſpecial reaſon to do ſo. A long and bloody war was not long ago carried on between Great Britain and France, and, upon a retroſpective view of it, politicians and hiſtorians are it ſeems at a loſs to tell what was the cauſe of it. Aukward children, when they meet on the ſtreet or in the field, they perhaps for a little look angrily at one another—then one of them reaches his neighbour a blow, which is ſoon returned—each of the two is joined by his friends—the clamour riſes on the green—hats fly off—the hair is pulled—faces are ſcratched—heads perhaps are broken, and coats and ſhirts are torn;—in a while they grow weary of giving and receiving blows, and, leaving off the fray, they agree to live in peace. Kings and miniſters of ſtate are juſt big grown up children; they are like the children I ſpeak of, with this particular and unhappy difference, that, inſtead of fighting out the needleſs quarrels they have raiſed, betaking themſelves to places of ſhelter, they hound out their innocent ſubjects to battle, and involve the nation they miſgovern in bloodſhed and expence, and perhaps, by levies and by heavy taxes, firſt weaken it, and then gradually reduce it to abſolute poverty, to utter ruin and contempt. The next thing I propoſed was,

5. To mention ſome of thoſe rules which have been agreed upon to mitigate ſome of the ills of war. "From whence come wars and fightings among you?" Among you, Chriſtians. If you cannot prevent war altogether, is it not in your power to ſoften its rigour and ferocity, at leaſt in ſome degree?

Whenſoever a war, even a lawful war, hath commenced, there are many unjuſt and cruel things done; done from immemorial practice, ſome of which, perhaps, cannot be avoided. In war, it is uſual to conſider the prince and his ſubjects as making only one perſon, and of courſe to conclude, that whatever injury the prince hath done, the ſubjects may be juſtly

puniſhed for it; and, from this fiction, the injured fall upon the ſubjects of the injurious prince by ſea and land, and either kill them, or ſtrip them of all they have. This is at preſent, and hath long been, for aught I know, the univerſal practice; and yet it appears to be unjuſt. Have we not been ſtruck with a ſenſe of this injuſtice, on ſeeing French merchants carried priſoners along our ſtreets, who, having acquired a fortune in the Indies, and knowing nothing of any hoſtility between France and England, were returning peaceably home, and were, on the open ſeas, fallen upon by our privateers, and robbed of every farthing they had got? And I believe the humane among the French are ſtruck in the ſame manner, when they ſee carried into their priſons any Britiſh merchants who had been captured and robbed by the privateers of France. It is juſt that the injurer, and not the innocent, ſhould ſuffer. Would it not be right, and agreeable to what nature dictates, that kings or their miniſters ſhould fight it out, and, in their own perſons, finiſh the war which they have provoked? Should they not feel and ſpeak the noble ſentiments and language of King David, when, for a particular offence of his, a great plague was to come upon his innocent ſubjects: Here, I think, David expreſſes a ſtrong and a proper ſenſe of juſtice; here the generoſity of his ſoul appears as illuſtrious as it doth in any other prayer, or pſalm, or ſpeech, or in any action of his life. David ſaid unto God, "Is it not I, even I it is that have ſinned, and done evil indeed; but as for theſe ſheep, what have they done? Let thine hand, I pray thee, O Lord my God, be on me, and on my father's houſe, but not on thy people that they ſhould be plagued." So delicate a ſenſe of juſtice is ſurely rare.

But I am to ſpeak of the rules, the reſtrictions, which, in all ages, have been agreed upon to moderate the fury of parties at war, and which Chriſtians

ought ſurely to obſerve: For even that nation, which, by its injuſtice, hath excited againſt itſelf a juſt war, doth ſtill retain rights which it would be high injuſtice to violate.

In war, the aim of the injured nation ought to be no more but to compel the injurious to agree to reaſonable terms of peace; that is, to make due reparation, and give aſſurance that it will not, as before, violate the laws of juſtice. This is the lawful aim in war, and it ought to be proſecuted with as little bloodſhed, as little deſtruction, as poſſible. Nothing ſhould be done that tends merely to exaſperate, to make the breach wider, and to lengthen out the conteſt; nothing ſhould be done but that which hath ſome tendency to bring the war to an end. Incurſions into the interior parts of the enemies country, burning villages, driving cattle, when not abſolutely neceſſary to ſubſiſt the army, robbing and killing the unarmed and defenceleſs peaſants, in their ſeparate dwellings and plantations—is unjuſt and cruel; it is an irritating, a paltry, and pilfering way of making war.

The fortune of the war may alter, and a cutting remembrance of ſuch needleſs and unavailing acts of barbarity may provoke a dreadful retaliation and revenge. "Gideon ſaid to Zeba and Zalmunna, the two princes of Midian, What manner of men were they whom ye ſlew at Tabor? and they anſwered, As thou art, ſo were they; each one reſembled the children of a king. And he ſaid, They were my brethren; as the Lord liveth, if ye had ſaved them alive, I would not ſlay you.—And Gideon aroſe and ſlew them."

To make war in the way I have mentioned is condemned by the law of nations. And all nations have, I think, agreed, that the perſon of an ambaſſador is not to be violated,—nor hoſtages ſlain, unleſs it be for ſome crime of their own after they had become

hoſtages—nor ſoldiers fired upon, after they have thrown down their arms, and begged for quarter—nor the wounded ſlaughtered upon the field—nor priſoners killed or barbarouſly uſed—nor the ſword drawn againſt old men or children—nor women raviſhed or killed. Theſe, and other rules and reſtrictions, have been agreed to by all civilized nations, and they tend to mitigate the horror of war to a very conſiderable degree. It hath been maintained, that, from the genius and gentle ſpirit of Chriſtianity, war is now made with more mildneſs than it was in ancient times. Perhaps in moſt Chriſtian countries it is generally ſo, and I am ſorry that this mildneſs of modern manners in war is not univerſal. I think of Mexico and Peru, where, by profeſſed Chriſtians, many millions of harmleſs people were ſavagely butchered above two hundred years ago. Many leſſer inſtances of the ſame kind might be mentioned; but I would fain think, that the mournful narrative, that, within theſe few years, four or five millions of innocent people in Indoſtan were ſtarved and deſtroyed by the rigour and rapacity of the Engliſh, is not ſufficiently authenticated. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the manner in which war is carried on now is very different from that of the ancients; the ancients, inſtead of killing thoſe they conquered, did often carry the conquered along with them into their own country. When David was abſent from Ziklag, the Amalekites invaded the country, invaded Ziklag, and ſmote it, and burnt it with fire, and took the women captives that were therein: "They ſlew not any, either great or ſmall, but carried them away, and went on their way." When the Iſraelites conſpired againſt the king of Aſſyria, and refuſed to pay him tribute, "the king of Aſſyria," after a ſiege of three years, "took Samaria, and carried Iſrael away into Aſſyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."

And when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Judah, he carried the inhabitants captive to Babylon, having, ſo far as I remember, ſlain but a few.

In one word, it is naturally juſt to make war by open violence, as far as it is neceſſary to obtain our right, or to diſtreſs the enemy, ſo as he ſhall conſent to juſt terms; but ſuch violence and cruelty as is not naturally ſubſervient to this purpoſe, or without which we could obtain our right as effectually, and at no greater expence to ourſelves, is unjuſt, and deteſtable in the ſight of God and man. In order to end ſo horrible a thing as war, I think I may ſay further, that if, in the courſe of the war, the leaders of the one contending party find that their armies are weaker, and their reſources fewer, than thoſe of the other, they ought to controul their pride, and ſubmit, with as good a grace as poſſible, to the ſtronger: This is ſurely a leſs evil than that they ſhould, by their obſtinacy, bring extermination upon their country. Civil liberty is precious, but life is ſtill more ſo. Why will ye die? ſays the prophet Jeremiah to the king of Judah—"Why will ye die, thou and thy people, by the ſword, by the famine, and by the peſtilence, as the Lord hath ſpoken againſt the nation that will not ſerve the king of Babylon?" And whatever ſome of the haughty Romans have boaſted to the contrary, I think it manifeſt, that Cato and Scipio ought to have ſubmitted to Cæſar, rather than, as they did, put a violent end to their lives. For that unnatural and unjuſtifiable ſtep they are cenſured by the more judicious of even the heathen writers. It is every man's duty to preſerve his life, though, by the viciſſitudes of the world, he may ſee himſelf obliged to become the ſubject or the ſervant of a new maſter. Self-preſervation is his indiſpenſible duty; he owes it to God, to his country, and to himſelf; and God may, in his good time, reſtore him to liberty.

And here I cannot but regret, that, in this unhap-

py conteſt between Great Britain and its Colonies, ſome perſons have been invidiouſly miſrepreſented as entertaining opinions too favourable to the cauſe of the Americans. In a conteſt of this ſort, it is impoſſible but that the opinions of thinking people muſt be different; and mere opinion, eſpecially of thoſe in the lower walks in life, can have no effect at all upon the iſſue of the diſpute: But I hóneſtly declare, that though, as I think, theſe Coloniſts were treated with too much harſhneſs formerly, it is my opinion, they would now act the wiſe part, would they frankly ſubmit to the terms that have been offered them by the parliament of Britain: This would be wiſer than to continue the war, and thereby bring ruin on their country; this would be a ſafer and wiſer meaſure, than that, being ſeduced by the fallacious promiſe of aſſiſtance, they ſhould fling themſelves into the arms of France: That connection is unnatural; they would be much more happy connected as formerly with the generous Engliſh, with thoſe who are of the ſame language, the ſame religion, the ſame blood with themſelves, though they ſhould not yet obtain independence. Ah! is there not ſome patriot, or ſome illuſtrious band of patriots, who ſhall try, and try with ſucceſs, to renew this kindred connection? who ſhall wiſely, and for the relief and happineſs of the two contending parties, bring about this ſo much deſired reconcilement and peace? O peace! thou firſt of human bleſſings, how deſirable art thou? Peace! peace at home, and peace with our kinſmen and brethren at a great diſtance! Bleſſed be the man that brings us thee, who ſhall put a ſtop to levies, to depopulation abroad and at home; who ſhall command the bloody ſword to be put into the ſcabbard, and the noiſy machines of war to be ſtill; who ſhall bid the Americans diſband their armies, bid them ſubdue and cultivate their unimproved, but naturally fertile and widely extended territories; teach them to apply with

induſtry to every ſort of manufactures, and to purſue commerce at large with the Aſiatic and European nations; who ſhall teach them the arts of peace, to promote population, and, by eſtabliſhing equal laws, and a generous ſyſtem of liberty, to render their country an aſylum to the many thouſands who are, alas! at this day, borne down and impolitically oppreſſed in Europe; and who ſhall, at the ſame time, call home the Britiſh armies and fleets, to protect this fair, this exhauſted, and ill-defended iſland againſt the unprovoked attempts of France, and even to ſtrike, in ſelf-defence, a merited blow againſt that menacing and faithleſs power. Who doth not pray, that Heaven may, as formerly, raiſe up ſuch a patriot? Who doth not wiſh to ſee ſo happy a turn of our affairs?

6. I proceed to the laſt thing, namely, to mention, and moſtly from the text, ſome reaſons why a people, even though they have ſome religion, or at leaſt appear to be ſerious, may continue long involved in diſtreſs, and even in the calamities of war itſelf. "Ye luſt, and have not: ye kill, and deſire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, becauſe ye aſk not. Ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts."

It appears, from many inſtances in ſcripture, that individuals who ſeek God may for a long time be held in worldly diſtreſs, whilſt they wait that God will reſcue them. This you know was the caſe with Job, and with the Pſalmiſt alſo. The prayer, the expoſtulation of the righteous at ſuch a time is, "Save me, O God, for the waters are come in unto my ſoul. I ſink in deep mire, where there is no ſtanding: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying, my throat is dried: mine eyes fail while I wait for my God."—"Will the Lord caſt off for ever? and will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? Doth his promiſe fail for ever more? Hath God forgotten to be gra-

cious?" The church and people of God may be long in diſtreſs alſo. Thus the Iſraelites were for a long time borne down and oppreſſed in Egypt. "They ſighed by reaſon of the bondage, and they cried; and their cry came up unto God, by reaſon of the bondage." So alſo the ſame people, in their long captivity, "By the rivers of Babylon, (ſay they) there we ſat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows, in the midſt thereof." Why a ſober and ſeemingly virtuous individual is ſometimes long in pain or in adverſity, or why in war, for inſtance, thoſe who contend for the intereſt of liberty, of virtue, of the public good, of the human ſpecies, are often unſucceſsful, is among theſe ſecret things which belong unto God. Why Cæſar was victorious at Pharſalia; why Octavius and Antony prevailed againſt Caſſius and the amiable Brutus, on the plains of Philippi; why God, in his providence, hath ſuffered the Mahometans to enthral ſo fair and ſo great a part of the ancient world; why the popiſh powers have ſo long and ſo much ſucceeded in trampling down the proteſtants, and checking the progreſs of the reformation; theſe, and many things of the like kind, are the myſterious ways of Heaven; "the ways of that God, who giveth not account of any of his matters." In private life, "the tabernacles of robbers proſper;" and in public, thoſe ſocieties or nations which to us ſeem to be the moſt ſober, and innocent, and deſerving, are diſappointed of ſucceſs, and are made to groan under a heavy burden of diſtreſs.

But, my brethren, we are perhaps very often and very widely miſtaken in the eſtimate we make of the comparative merit of individuals or of ſocieties. Moſt certainly the ways of God are right, and religion, if it reſtrain its votaries from daring crimes which might elevate them at once to worldly greatneſs, is the way to paſs through the world with ſecurity and eaſe;

and yet it must be confessed that the church and people of God may sometimes be long in adversity: Of this dispensation of providence we are able to perceive many of the wise reasons, though we be too blind to see them all.

In general, God leaves his people long in trouble to alarm their consciences, to check them in their wild career, and force them to think of the eternal world. A constant course of prosperity is extremely dangerous; men, inchanted with the pleasures of the present world, seldom think of God, or of the world to come. Whilst they suffer affliction, they think on the causes of their suffering, and from the fear of greater sufferings in the life to come, they are, by the grace of God, led to repentance. It is therefore from his wisdom, and his loving kindness, that God afflicts men. And if a nation or society hath become corrupted and luxurious, it hath great need of being visited with the temporal judgments of God. The people may be awakened, and may repent sincerely; and for a while some stop may be put to the operation of of these causes which produce national ruin. But I should rather speak in particular of being kept long in these calamities which accompany a state of war.

And, first, it may be said that God keeps a people long in these calamities, to raise and keep alive in them a habitual dislike of war, and a strong aversion to begin any particular war, though, at first view, and when it is slightly considered, it may appear to be just. War is so horrible in its aspect, and so desolating in its progress, that it is not to be gone into from a sudden fit of passion, but after long and calm, and serious deliberation, after every method to procure, to buy peace, hath been tried, and tried in vain: And it should not be begun on account of any transient or frivolous act of injustice; nor should it be begun at all, unless the prince who begins it is rich, and strong, and powerful, and is in a manner certain

of ſucceſs. Indeed, providence oftentimes confounds the proud and mighty, raiſes the ſpirits and increaſes the ſtrength of the weak; and "the battle is not always to the ſtrong." Even this conſideration will render a cautious prince, or a wiſe miniſter, ſlow to enter into war. One would think, that princes, rather than drench the nations in blood, ſhould meet and finiſh their ſenſeleſs differences by friendly conference, or compromiſe them by arbitration, or by caſting lots, or even, as I hinted before, finiſh them by ſingle combat; which laſt, however wrong it is in private quarrels, is ſurely a far leſs evil than to thin the human ſpecies by a deſolating war, which the rulers have, from arrogance and a ſpirit of domination, haſtened to commence. Indeed, if the ſubjects have fooliſhly approved of the raſh ſteps of their rulers, and have even loudly encouraged them by fomenting their arrogance, and publicly calling upon them to enter into and to continue in coercive, violent, and ſanguinary meaſures, offering to ſpend their lives and fortunes in the war, it ſeems but juſt in providence that they ſhould be made to ſuffer for a long time the calamities of the war. Alas! it is commonly the grandees of a country, who, for ſelfiſh ends, do thus ſlaviſhly beat time with the raſh meaſures of their rulers, and the bulk of the people are made to ſuffer. A war may be in ſome ſort juſt, and yet it may be very imprudent and inexpedient to enter into it.

2. A people who have religion, who faſt and pray for ſucceſs, may continue long to bear the calamities of war, becauſe they employ unjuſt meaſures in the proſecution of it. A perſon who is aſſaulted by another on the ſtreet, hath a juſt claim againſt that other in a court of law; but if he hath furiouſly turned upon the man who aſſaulted him, and beaten him with ten times more ſeverity than he was beaten himſelf, his claim for redreſs becomes weaker at leaſt than it

would otherwiſe have been. To obtain ſucceſs, to be delivered from the calamities of war, it becomes a people to examine whether the meaſures they purſue in conducting the war be agreeable to the will of God or not. "Ye luſt, and have not: ye kill, and deſire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not."

It is ſtrange that any people ſhould expect or dare to pray for ſucceſs, whilſt the end they aim at is wrong, and the conduct they purſue obviouſly criminal. Can a thief, can a robber, who is eager to enrich himſelf by the ſpoils of the induſtrious, can he expect, that, while he perpetrates his crimes, God will hide him behind a thick cloud, ſo that he ſhall not be detected? Can the murderer pray in earneſt that God may aſſiſt him to perpetrate an aſſaſſination? Or, in this debauched age, can the adulterer or the adultereſs look up to God, and pray, and expect to ſucceed in their vile aſſignations and amorous intrigues?

Whilſt we faſt and pray for ſucceſs in this tedious and lamentable war, let us, let our rulers and commanders, examine whether there be not ſome unjuſtifiable ſteps which we have taken already. Hath no unneceſſary theft, or pillage, or plunder, or robbery, been committed? Hath no act of ſhocking and barbarous cruelty been done? Hath no army, or part of an army, been killed after they had ſurrendered, had thrown down their arms? Have none of the wounded been ſlaughtered on the field of battle? or have none of them been left to periſh in their wounds, without being carried to hoſpitals, or any way taken care of? Hath no furious officer, hardened by bloodſhed, been hounded out, at the head of a group of ſavages, to burn the houſes and ruin the crops of the quiet and innocent planters? Or hath ſuch an officer been applauded and rewarded for having begun a horrid war of diſtreſs? Have no villages, no towns,

no cities, been wantonly burned, when they might have been preſerved? If none of theſe things have been done, we have no doubt the better reaſon to hope for more ſucceſs than we have yet met with; but if any of ſuch enormouſly criminal meaſures have been purſued, need we wonder, that though we faſt the war is prolonged, and that God hath not yet given us the ſucceſs which we pray for? "Ye kill, and deſire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not." I next obſerve from the text,

3. That a people may be long held in diſtreſs, though they faſt and aſk for relief, becauſe they aſk amiſs. "Ye aſk and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts." This is the character which the Spirit of God gives of thoſe to whom this letter is addreſſed; and I wiſh it may not alſo be the character of many who are called by lawful authority to humble themſelves as on this faſt day.

We have faſted ſeveral times before. We have prayed for ſucceſs, and that this inglorious war might ſoon come to an end; but hitherto things continue juſt as they were. It is well if our condition be not worſe than when we commenced the war: "We looked for judgment, but behold oppreſſion; for righteouſneſs, but behold a cry." Still "we look for righteouſneſs, but there is none; for ſalvation, but it is far off." One year of this tireſome war, a ſecond, a third, a fourth, hath gone over our heads, and another year of it is begun. "The harveſt is paſt, the ſummer is ended, and we are not ſaved." May not this be a preſumption that Heaven is diſpleaſed with our aim, and, by repeatedly counterworking our efforts, intimates to us that abundance of blood is ſhed already? I ſincerely wiſh, that the fomenters of this war, on both ſides of the Atlantic, may be of this mind. I remember, that when Otho, in his conteſt againſt Vitellius for the Roman empire,

had loſt a battle, but had ſtill great reſources, and, in the opinion of his friends, great cauſe to hope for ſucceſs, he chooſed at once to take the deſperate ſtep of a Roman death, rather than to be the occaſion of any more bloodſhed of the Romans his fellow-citizens! Or, at leaſt, is not the great length of this war, which at firſt was expected to be eaſily finiſhed in one ſhort campaign, a preſumption, that, in their profeſſions to faſt and to repent, the inhabitants of the land have not been ſincere? "Will ye ſteal, and murder, and commit adultery, and ſwear falſely by the name of God?" and, even by your laws, give encouragement to a falſe, a blaſphemous, and idolatrous religion? "Will ye plead for Baal? Will ye burn incenſe to Baal?" and yet come to this place, and, hanging down the head like a bulruſh, pray for ſucceſs in this woeful war, in which the nation hath been ſo long engaged, and by which it is ſo miſerably exhauſted? Firſt repent of your ſins, and then you will be better prepared to aſk, and may the rather hope to obtain.

It is poſſible there may be in high life ſome perſons who are ſtrangely corrupted; but I hope there is not one of you who wiſhes for ſucceſs, that you may lay hold on the revenue and the ſpoil of a foreign land, to be conſumed upon your luſts. And if in this land there be really ſome perſons ſo far debaſed as to wiſh for ſucceſs in the war, that ſo they may get more gold and ſilver to conſume in luxury, high living, drunkenneſs, and gluttony, or in gaming, lewdneſs, and expenſive debauchery, grown up to a ſcandalous height, unheard of till this preſent age; if there be others who covet greater riches, that they may with a heavier hand bear down and oppreſs their dependents abroad and at home; if there be a ſtill higher, a miniſterial party, who, by a revenue ſqueezed from America, mean to create new offices, new poſts, new penſions, greater bribes, in order (and by the means

of popery too) to eſtabliſh and aſcertain a ſyſtem of deſpotic power, which ſhall be firm and laſting, like that in France, in Spain, and in other popiſh kingdoms; if all, or if any of theſe dangerous points be in view, we need not wonder that a wiſe and gracious God hath not yet granted a ſucceſs which would be grievous to the people abroad, and, in its iſſue, lamentably hurtful to moſt of thoſe at home. Whenever the plebeians in ancient Rome raiſed a loud cry againſt the oppreſſion and heavy burdens which they were compelled to bear, the patricians, in order to ſilence theſe cries, trumped up a ſtory about ſome injury that had been done to the ſtate, and the neceſſity of a foreign war, to which war they hounded out the poor abaſed people. And in all ages it hath been uſual for rulers to purſue wars and conqueſts abroad, that they might the more effectually enſlave their ſubjects at home. And, without all queſtion, riches from abroad, or greater riches in whatever way they come, enable the prince to oppreſs and enſlave his ſubjects.

I juſt add, that we of this nation are perhaps hitherto held in the miſeries of war, becauſe, though we faſt, we look not up to God for deliverance. We conſider not that war is, in a ſpecial manner, an appeal to Heaven. By a ſudden panic, by a ſtorm at land, or by a turn of the wind at ſea, God can make the war iſſue as he pleaſes. We preſume on our own ſtrength; we proudly expect to force ſucceſs by the arm of fleſh; we have been long diſappointed; but we complain of our generals and our admirals, and attend not to the ſigns of the times, to the operation and courſe of the providence of God. Our hearts are not right with God; we faſt and we pray; "we aſk, but do not obtain, becauſe we aſk amiſs;" not conſidering that victory, even in the juſteſt war, is not to be prayed for but with ſubmiſſion to the will

of God, leaving it entirely to his infinite wifdom whether he will grant our petitions or not.

And after all, who knows that though henceforth our plans fhould be wifely laid, though our generals fhould difplay ever fo good conduct, and our foldiers exert ever fo much courage, yet we may at length find it to be the determination of God that we muft part with that fuperiority which we have exercifed fo long over the extenfive, the far diftant weftern world, now become populous. If this matter, like the revolt of the ten tribes, is from God, "the counfel of the Lord fhall ftand, and who are we that we fhould fight againft him! The Moft High divideth to the nations their inheritance: God changeth the times and the feafons."

I muft mention another fort of war, which I forgot to take notice of at the beginning of this difcourfe, I mean, wrangling about abftrufe points and metaphyfical opinions. To that fort of wars and fightings it is likely St. James had a view in the text; for the epiftle is directed to the twelve tribes that were fcattered abroad; and many of the Jews, even after they were converted to Chriftianity, were, it feems, eager enough to enter into metaphyfical difputes. Indeed, for many centuries backward, fuch difputes had agitated the minds of fpeculative men, and fome of the tenets, formerly difputed about, did very early become fubjects of contention among Chriftians. By one party a point was keenly affirmed, and by another party it was keenly denied: The debate continued, and the contention grew warm; and this hath been the cafe in almoft every age downward to the prefent time; for when the faw of contention is often drawn backwards and forwards, it is apt to grow hot in the hands of thofe who draw it. Hence fo many proceffes againft tenets and doctrines, fome of them perhaps very innocent, others of them perfectly unintelligible; hence fo many controverfies in fchool divi-

nity, ſo much rage, ſo much fury, which hath often led to perſecution, to war, and to bloodſhed. This is the war of narrow-minded theologians; it riſes among them, it is conducted and foughten by them: And this, like other wars, ſprings from the luſts of men; it comes not from the calm love of truth. Nor can it be ſaid that they are the moſt enlightened in the knowledge of the truth who commence proſecutions about doctrines or opinions. It is commonly the dull who are the ringleaders, and the dull alſo who are the followers in this ſort of war. In theſe the luſt of pride is often very prevalent; they have formed a ſet of ſpeculative opinions, and they cannot bear that others ſhould differ from them, for this were to call their underſtanding in queſtion. Or, this war ſprings from the luſt of covetouſneſs and ambition. Some perſon is like to be preferred to a lucrative and honourable place; his character muſt be blown; a report muſt be circulated that he is deeply tinctured with heterodox principles; a proceſs of hereſy muſt be raiſed againſt him, that ſo he may be rejected, and that his accuſer, or ſome one of his accuſer's friends, may ſtep into the place. But to inveſtigate the origin, to mark the progreſs, to ſhow the folly, the wickedneſs, and the dreadful effects of this theological war, would require a long diſcourſe. I conclude this faſt-ſermon with repeating the text, and ſome of the ſpiritual exhortations which the apoſtle ſubjoins to it.

"From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even from your luſts that war in your members? Ye luſt, and have not: ye kill, and deſire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war, yet ye have not, becauſe ye aſk not: ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts. Ye adulterers and adultereſſes, know ye not that the friendſhip of the world is enmity with God? whoſoever, therefore, will be a friend of the world, is the enemy of God.—God re-

ſiſteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble. Submit yourſelves therefore to God.—Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you; cleanſe your hands, ye ſinners, and purify your hearts, ye double-minded. Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned to mourning, and your joy to heavineſs. Humble yourſelves in the ſight of the Lord, and he ſhall lift you up."

SERMON VI.

THE TASK-MASTERS.

Preached to a Congregation of Farmers, 1770.

And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task-masters: for I know their sorrows. And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey——

EXOD. iii. 7. 8.

THE affliction of the Israelites in Egypt is an emblem of the misery of mankind, whilst they were in a state of darkness, and under the bondage of corruption; and the deliverance of that people is a type of the redemption of the world by our blessed Lord and Saviour. You have already heard several discourses from the text, considered in that view. At present, as I know something of the state of this country, I think I hear the voice of humanity calling upon me to consider the text in a literal sense, and as descriptive of your worldly condition. For a course of years you have been complaining, that, by the high rate of land, you have, like the Israelites, been compelled to "make brick without straw;" that exorbitant rents have been rigorously exacted; that your labour is constant and severe; that though you have toiled hard, and put up with the coarsest fare, you were not able to satisfy the demands of those whom you look upon as task-masters; so that many of you here, as well as in other places, have been first stripped of any thing

you had, and then ſent to ſhift for yourſelves and your deſolate families. But as the text deſcribes your miſerable condition, it alſo gives you conſolation, and points at the means of your relief: "And the Lord ſaid, I have ſurely ſeen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry, by reaſon of their taſk-maſters: for I know their ſorrows." The children of Iſrael ſighed by reaſon of their bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up to God by reaſon of their bondage. And God heard their groaning; "And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them out of that land unto a good land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey."

I believe I need make no apology for the diſcourſe which I intend to deliver. It is real pity and concern for you which hath made me think of it. The uncommonneſs of the ſubject ſhould offend none of you. You are often alleging amongſt yourſelves, that men in my office have little pity or regard for you; that as we have been befriended by ſome great folks, or are ſometimes in their company, and entertained by them, we approve of all they do, and think little of your miſery, which we ſeldom ſee, or take not time or opportunity to know; and that whilſt we are every day cenſuring and preaching againſt vices, which are either more natural or leſs grievous, we ſeldom or never ſpeak a word againſt avarice, rigour, and oppreſſion, as if they were not ſins at all. I am perſuaded that this opinion of yours is ill founded, or that the accuſation is too general. For my part, I have quite a different view of things: I have never ſaid or done any thing to extenuate the guilt of cruelty, or to ſtrengthen the hands of pitileſs oppreſſors: I ſhall never give any perſon cauſe to ſay of me, that I act or ſpeak in the character of thoſe who are hired and paid by the rich to preach againſt the poor and bear down the helpleſs. I know, indeed, that it is a

miniſter's chief buſineſs to ſtrive that his people may by faith and holineſs be prepared for eternal happineſs; but I think alſo that he cannot but commiſerate the viſible diſtreſs of his flock, and wiſh them to enjoy ſome tolerable eaſe and comfort in the preſent life; and that if by aſſiſtance, counſel, or advice, he can alleviate their ſufferings, he would be unworthy of his office unleſs he endeavoured it, always conducting himſelf by the invariable laws of truth and righteouſneſs; and it is with a ſincere aim to impart to you ſome conſolation under your ſufferings, and to point out ſome probable and prudent means of being delivered from them, that I preach this ſermon.

Taking therefore the text before me as the ground of my diſcourſe, I ſhall endeavour to obſerve the following method:

1. I will ſhow, that the rate of land in this part of Britain is too high.

2. Mention ſome of the cauſes and means by which it hath been ſcrewed up to ſuch a height.

3. Show what are already the effects of the high rate of land, and what muſt be the further conſequences of it.

4. That it is the duty and conſolation of an afflicted people to cry unto God.

5. That, as the Iſraelites were delivered out of the houſe of bondage by the arm of God, ſo the people who are oppreſſed in this land have, by divine providence, an effectual means of being delivered from the hardſhips they groan under.

6. That it is the duty of an afflicted people to purſue the means which divine providence offers for their deliverance.

And though the ſubject be not common, the doctrine ſhall be found; and I will expreſs myſelf as much as I can in the ſtyle and language of holy ſcripture.

1. Firſt, then, I am to ſhow, that the rate of land

in this part of Britain is too high. Our people, like the Iſraelites, are forced to make brick without ſtraw.

The method which Pharaoh took to afflict the Iſraelites was this: "He commanded the taſk-maſters of the people, and their officers, ſaying, Ye ſhall no more give the people ſtraw to make bricks as heretofore, let them go and gather ſtraw for themſelves; and the tale of the bricks which they did make heretofore, you ſhall lay upon them, ye ſhall not diminiſh ought thereof, for they be idle; let there more work be laid upon the men that they may labour therein; and let them not regard vain words." The taſk-maſters, that is, the commiſſioners, the ſtewards, or factors, of that age, obeyed theſe hard and peremptory orders. "They ſpoke to the people, ſaying, Thus ſaith Pharaoh, I will not give you ſtraw; go, get you ſtraw where you can find it, yet not ought of your work ſhall be diminiſhed." So the people were ſcattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather ſtubble inſtead of ſtraw; they were willing, but not able, to do what they were commanded: But "the taſk-maſters haſted them, ſaying, Fulfil your works, your daily taſk, as when there was ſtraw." The officers, the overſeers, or conſtables, which were of the children of Iſrael, were beaten and queſtioned, "Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your taſk, both yeſterday and this day, as heretofore?" Theſe officers were forced to remonſtrate to the king, that the people could not furniſh the tale of the bricks except ſtraw were given them. But the anſwer they received was: "Ye are idle, ye are idle; get you to your burdens; go therefore now and work; for there ſhall no ſtraw be given you, yet ſhall ye deliver the tale of the bricks."

Is not that which was tranſacted in Egypt a ſtriking picture of what is now ſo generally done in this country? The peremptory order of the proprietor, or

his taſk-maſter, to the tenant is, You ſhall pay double or triple for the farm you now poſſeſs; or, You ſhall pay the ſame ſum for the half or third part of it; the farm is diminiſhed, but you ſhall not diminiſh the tale of the bricks, the tale of the bolls, or pounds Sterling. The queſtion to the Iſraelites was, "Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your taſk, both yeſterday and this day?" The queſtion to our farmers is, Wherefore have ye not paid your Martinmas and your Whitſunday terms rent? When the Iſraelites could not furniſh the tale of the bricks, they were beaten: Our farmers, when they cannot pay, if they be not beaten in a literal ſenſe, are impriſoned, and beaten with hunger; any thing they have is barbarouſly taken from them, and they are turned out and left to the mercy of the wide world.

It is certainly but juſt, that the farmer ſhould pay rent in proportion to the extent and quality of the land he poſſeſſeth; nay, ſome twenty or thirty years ago, many tenants lived in ſuch indolence and lethargy, that it was expedient to raiſe their rents conſiderably, in order to ſtir them up to more induſtry and labour: But there is a meaſure in every thing; and as rents may be too low, they may alſo be too high.

But it is perhaps difficult to ſay what is a reaſonable rent, or what proportion of the increaſe of land the farmer ought to pay. I remember, that, after the ſeven years famine in Egypt, when the whole land had become the property of Pharaoh, ſo juſt and good a man as Joſeph made it a ſtanding law, that the king ſhould have the fifth part: "And it ſhall come to paſs, in the increaſe, that thou ſhall give the fifth part to Pharaoh, and four parts ſhall be your own, for the ſeed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your houſehold, and for your little ones." A very moderate rent, if we conſider the fertility of Egypt, that the ſoil needed no manure

and little cultivation, "where the people ſowed the ſeed, and watered it with their foot, as a garden of herbs." The rent juſt mentioned may therefore be looked upon as that which was demanded for rich land in a ſtate of cultivation. But our landholders let out their farms, not with reſpect to what the land is able to produce, uncultivated as it is, when the tenant enters to it, but by what it is expected to produce after the tenant, by great labour and expence, ſhall have got it put into good heart: An unfair way of dealing, and by which the credulous tenant is often impoſed upon. A diſtinction indeed ſhould be made between the value of land as it now is, and that which may be the value of it when it ſhall be well cultivated: And one would think, that the fourth part of the produce of uncultivated land, and a little more, but not amounting to the third of its produce, when improved by the labour and expence of the tenant, is a ſufficient rent; and that land which may, one year in ten, yield eight bolls, but at an average during that ſpace yield not more than five, is too dear at 40s. or 30s. or even 20s. per acre.

But, in computations of this ſort, it is poſſible one may err; for there are various circumſtances which may render the ſame rent, for land of the ſame quality, tolerable in one place, and too high in another. There is, however, a pretty certain mark or rule, by which we may be able to judge whether the rent of a farm is too high or not. When the farmer, by his ſkill, and toil, and induſtry, is able to provide the neceſſaries, and ordinary accommodations of life, ſuitable to his humble ſtation, and alſo to make ſome proviſion for the infirmities of his old age, or for the ſettlement of his children, he may then be thought to pay no more but a reaſonable rent; but when he is ſkilful in his buſineſs, when he labours and toils early and late, and lives in an unexpenſive and frugal

manner, and upon the cheapeſt food, and is notwithſtanding unable to lay up any thing for himſelf or his children, and cannot even, as the expreſſion is, make the two ends of it to meet, cannot furniſh the tale of the brick, or pay his rent in due time, then he is unqueſtionably overcharged; his rent is too high. If we may judge by this rule, which appears to be equitable, it is undeniable, that, in many parts of Scotland, too high a rent is exacted, and that many induſtrious farmers are oppreſſed: By their utmoſt labour and induſtry they cannot live; though their induſtry entitles them not only to an inſured livelihood, but to a certain profit over and above. This oppreſſion was begun long ago; it hath been growing for a courſe of years; and is at this day riſen to a very great height: "Behold the day, behold, it is come, the morning is gone forth, the rod hath bloſſomed, pride hath budded, violence is riſen up into a rod of wickedneſs."

I do not mean, or ſay, that this oppreſſion is yet become univerſal. There are, in ſeveral places of the country, men of prudence and humanity, who ſuffer their tenants to live in tolerable eaſe; and, bleſſed be God, they are the men who, of all other landlords, are in the moſt eaſy and flouriſhing circumſtances; but the number of them is yearly decreaſing. They are incited by the workings of avarice; they are tempted by the example of their neighbours; they are exhorted and adviſed by bad counſellors, to adopt the common practice: For there are ſuch counſellors here juſt as there were in Jeruſalem of old: "The ſpirit," ſays the prophet, "took me by a lock of mine head, and lift me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me into the inner court of the Lord's houſe; and behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord; theſe are the men that deviſe miſchief,

and give wicked counſel in this city." Theſe counſellors and adviſers, if they offer not themſelves, are ſent for to ſet the higheſt value on an eſtate that is to be ſold, or a farm that is to be let; and, by the extravagant value they rate them at, commonly mar the ſale of the one, and either mar the letting of the other, or leſſen the clear rent of it; and yet ſo ſtrong and epidemical is the ſpirit of ſcrewing up land, that, while theſe adviſers are doing real miſchief, there are intelligent people who publicly applaud them for their good management; applaud them for what they ought to be aſhamed of, as it is ſeverity to the poor, impoveriſheth the landholder, and tends to the ruin and deſolation of the country. By means of theſe adviſers, the evil I ſpeak of becomes daily more univerſal; but though men may applaud them, God is angry with them, "becauſe," ſays he, "with lies ye have made the heart of the righteous ſad, and ſtrengthened the hands of the wicked. I will deliver my people out of your hand, and they ſhall no more be in your hand to be hunted, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord."

Though the point to be eſtabliſhed under this head of diſcourſe may ſeem clear enough already, and is pretty univerſally believed, I will here mention a few particulars, which will make it evident, that the rent exacted for land in this country is by much too high. And,

1. It is commonly much higher than what is demanded for the fertile lands in England: There, the land is rich; here, it is, for the moſt part, poor; and yet here, making allowance for the different meaſure, double, or more, is paid for it. The common people of Scotland, from time immemorial, have, by means and cauſes which I need not mention, been cruſhed down and held in miſerable bondage. The free-ſpirited Engliſh farmer would diſdain to drudge, and, at the ſame time, live ſo poorly as our people would

be content to do: They breathe the air of liberty; and would ſooner chooſe to go to the fartheſt parts of the world than ſtarve themſelves, or juſt keep in their lives by a ſcrimp and poor ſubſiſtence, whilſt all the profit of their labour accrued to greedy landlords, who feed richly, and live at eaſe; they would not ſubmit to make brick without ſtraw. In fact, by the beſt computations that have yet been made, the rent of the corn-fields, over all England, is not more than two-ninths of their produce. In Norfolk, the rich fields, under a modern let, are rented at 10s. or a little more; and even ſo high a rent is not common, for moſt of the land is much lower; and, ſurely, if 10s. is the rent of good land in England, 40s. 30s. or even 20s. an acre, is too high a rent for ordinary land here.

2. That the rent of land is too high, appears, becauſe a great number of families have been forced to leave the buſineſs of farming. They had been educated in that buſineſs, and accuſtomed to it from their youth; they had a ſtrong deſire to continue in it, and had, or knew no other way to earn their bread; and yet, by the high rent exacted from them, they have been obliged to leave it. Some of them, perhaps, are able to maintain themſelves for a little time; but moſt of them are firſt ſtripped of any little thing they had, and then unmercifully driven away to ſhift for themſelves. One cannot walk in the ſtreets of a city without ſeeing them, and bemoaning their lamentable condition. Many of them are unable to work, or are not employed; and, having been all their lives unaccuſtomed to it, they are aſhamed, and had rather ſtarve than beg. They are, in fact, more miſerable than thoſe who, from their childhood, have begged from door to door: "Their viſage is blacker than a coal; they are not known in the ſtreets; their ſkin cleaveth to their bones; it withereth, it is become like a ſtick; they are ſlain with

hunger, and pine away, ſtricken through for want of the fruits of the field."

3. Rent is too high; becauſe it is certain, that many induſtrious tenants, now in the poſſeſſion of farms, are ruined, and muſt ſpeedily depart from them. They got leaſes, ſome ſix or ſeven years ago, when oat-meal was at 15d. a-peck: The landholders perſuaded them, and they fooliſhly believed, that it would continue at that high rate: They have laboured, and ſtarved themſelves, and ſtruggled for ſo many years to keep theſe farms, and now they can do no more. At harveſt, the greedy landlord muſt have every farthing they are worth; and all they have, when he hath got it, will not make up the extravagant rent they had engaged to pay. Some of you whom I have now in my eye are of this number; and when, in the courſe of my viſiting, I ſtep into one of your diſmal cottages, I aſſure you, I pity your condition. I ſee before me an aſſemblage of all the ills of human life; poverty, nakedneſs, hunger; the image of miſery and death ſtrike all ſenſes! I am overwhelmed with ſorrow; my voice is ſtopped! O ye oppreſſors, of what hard materials are your hearts made! Will you not conſider, that there is a juſt God, and a time coming, when thoſe whom you oppreſs "ſhall be comforted, and you tormented!"

There is another claſs, who, if they could, would immediately leave their farms: Theſe were very ſubſtantial people a few years ago; but having taken farms at an extravagant rent, have thereby loſt a half, or two-thirds of their ſtock already, and are deſirous to leave the farms, to prevent their utter ruin. In one corner, there are induſtrious men, coming one by one to the maſters, and beſeeching them in vain to break their leaſes, and take back the farms, with all the expenſive improvements they have made upon them. In other places, they are humbly, and

repeatedly attending the rigid factor, by fifties or hundreds, earneſtly beſeeching the ſame thing, but to no purpoſe. Can any perſon believe, that theſe farmers, fond of their occupation, would be willing to part with their leaſes, and throw up their farms, which, for five or ſix years, they have improved, with great labour and expence, if they could hope to live by them, or recover the loſs they have already ſuſtained? Would a hundred men, hitherto eſteemed prudent, would a whole country-ſide become all at once ſo infatuated? But except one, who had paid no rent for three or four years, the reſt have ſolicited in vain to have their leaſes taken off their hands; nor do I meet with any man who expects that ſuch of them as have remaining ſtocks will get quit of their farms, till all their ſtocks are drained into the landlord's pocket, and they reduced to beggary. We talk of the ſlavery of the peaſants in Denmark and Poland; if this that is tranſacted among ourſelves be not oppreſſion, and ſlavery into the bargain, it is at leaſt very like it.

4. In many corners of the country, there are conſiderable tracks of land, formerly inhabited, which are lying altogether waſte: This is a viſible proof that rent is too high. If any one conſiders, what I hinted at before, the uncommon eagerneſs with which our country people puſh to have each of them a farm, their fondneſs to purſue that buſineſs, and their inability to ſupport themſelves by any other, he will eaſily be convinced, that ſo many tracks of arable land (I do not ſpeak of paſtures) are lying deſolate for no other cauſe but that too high a rent is demanded for them. If one travels through the country, and aſks the reaſon why ſo many fields are lying uncultivated, the anſwer he receives is, "My Lord ſuch-a-thing, or his Honour ſuch-a-thing, hath accurately meaſured all his lands, even the bogs, the rocks, and the barren mountains, and is demanding

20s. for every acre of it; but he can find nobody to offer it; and every man is convinced, that, though it ſhould be offered, nobody will be able to pay it; becauſe it is three or four times what the land is worth."

I will only mention another proof that rent is too high; and it is this, that, for ſeveral years paſt, conſiderable numbers of farmers have been leaving this country and going to foreign lands. It is not an ordinary degree of oppreſſion which is able to overcome that ſtrong, and, in many caſes, fooliſh attachment which all men, but eſpecially the common people, have to their native country. What grief did ſeveral of you feel, what pitiable lamentations did you make, when you were driven from theſe lands and houſes, where you, your fathers, and grandfathers, had ſpent their days! How did you, when going away, return ſtill back again, to look at the humble cottages where you and your children were born! How did you caſt back your eyes, to take the laſt and parting view of the poor but innocent abodes of your anceſtors! But when one is made to toil and ſtarve in the ſpot where he was born, his attachment to that ſpot is abſurd and fooliſh. You are ſenſible it is fooliſh; oppreſſion taught you by degrees to overcome it. Your brethren now abroad have completely overcome it: They have overcome, not only the deſire of the ſpot where they had long dwelt, but their attachment to the country in general: They ſaw there was ſomething eſſentially wrong in its police; becauſe, though they were induſtrious, they could not maintain themſelves by the product of their induſtry: They deſired to abide in it, but could not get ſubſiſtence; they laboured in an uſeful occupation, but others run away with the profit of their labour. And moſt certain it is, that when any man in health continues attached to a country where, by his utmoſt toil and induſtry, he is not able to ſup-

port himſelf and family in a decent and comfortable manner, he diſcovers a childiſh weakneſs, and ſins againſt his own ſoul.—From the ſeveral reaſons I have mentioned, it is evident, even to a demonſtration, that the rent exacted in this country is by far too high. I proceed to the next head of diſcourſe, namely, to mention,

2. Some of the cauſes and means by which rent hath been ſcrewed up to ſuch a hight. And,

1. The original cauſe of this is the blind avarice of the landholders and taſk-maſters: From their avarice, they have racked the rent of land ſo prodigiouſly, and, from the ſame principle, they are wiſhing and hoping it may riſe ſtill higher. You may ſee one of them, with a newſpaper in his hand, looking at nothing but the prices of grain, what it coſts at diſtant markets, and computing how dear the carriage muſt render it if brought here. Another will tell you, that the crop has failed in the Lothians; that grain is riſing faſt, and that land muſt riſe of courſe; that it is dear in England, and he is ſure and expects it will every year riſe higher and higher here: An inhuman and ſenſeleſs expectation; for it is much more probable that it will fall. Since 1680, the price of grain, wheat for inſtance, fell gradually in England to the year 1760; during the laſt half of that period it fell 25 per cent.; and if our country is now in ſuch a ſtate towards improvement as England was in 1680, may we not expect that it will fall here juſt as it did there? The riſe of grain ſhould not be aſcribed to wrong cauſes, nor meaſured by the unfavourable ſeaſons we have had of late, but by an average of 30 or 40 years: And may we not truſt in God's providence that favourable ſeaſons will return? Theſe landholders ſeem, many of them, to be as blind as they are avaricious; for it is not their intereſt that the price of grain ſhould riſe: If, unhappily, that ſhould be the caſe, our manufactures muſt

dwindle to ruin. Formerly, in a dear year, they were kept alive by the cheapneſs of fuel; but by the monopoly of coal that hath been lately formed, the price of that commodity is nearly doubled, and the poor diſtreſſed: And if the price of grain ſhall alſo riſe, and continue high, the manufacturers will withdraw, and go where grain is cheap; and then there may be bread enough, but few to buy or eat it. Manufactures have greatly contributed to raiſe the value of land; and the landholders, ignorantly to be ſure, ſeem to aim at the ruin of manufactures; like the viper, which, they ſay, is no ſooner hatched and ſees the light, but it turns about and devours its mother.

2. The ſhort leaſes which landlords grant are another means of raiſing the rent of land. Theſe leaſes are a mighty diſcouragement to the induſtrious farmer, and the almoſt never failing means of injuring and oppreſſing him. When he hath, with ſore labour and expence, brought his ground into good heart, and the leaſe is near expiring, the taſk-maſter demands a higher rent from him, which he muſt either give or be gone. No allowance will be made him; if he comes not up to what is demanded, ſome of his neighbours will; the higheſt offer will be welcome to the inhuman taſk-maſter, and the laborious ſkilful farmer muſt loſe the expected fruits of his labour.

3. It oftentimes happens, that, when a tenant is thriving in his farm, the maſter looks upon him with an evil eye, and falls upon ſome pretence to get him removed: "He hath occaſion for that farm himſelf; it lies ſo convenient for his policy that he cannot want it; he muſt have the third of it for a new plantation; and it will ſave much trouble, both to him and the tenant, juſt to let him have the whole." And, upon ſuch frivolous and falſe pretences, enforced by the ſeaſonable application of

ſome uſe of terror, many tenants are ſo ſilly and timorous, as to throw up their farms, to gratify the avarice of their maſter; but then, if they be rich enough, they may, after he hath got their farms into his hand, give double the rent at which they had a perfect right to have poſſeſſed them till the former leaſes had expired.

If this method is not ſucceſsful, then the landholder contrives ſome ground of quarrel; the tenant hath plowed a furrow off his neighbour's land; or hath cut down ſome tree; or allowed ſome fence to decay; or is not keeping the houſe in thatch; or hath beaten his maſter's dog, when it was worrying his ſheep; or hath ſhot a hare; or did not take off his bonnet, and ſhow reſpect to his lady when ſhe was paſſing by him with Lady ſuch-a-thing; or he is fallen ſhort in his payments (though the landlord himſelf declined to take his rent when offered, ſaying he had at that time no need of money); or he is running out the farm; or not managing it according to the terms of the leaſe; that therefore he muſt immediately remove; and a proceſs is commenced. Then the landlord may retain the moſt beggarly of his dependents to perjure themſelves, if need be. The contention is begun, and the tenant may eaſily foreſee its iſſue: His cauſe is to be decided by judges who are connected with, or related to his landlord; who are themſelves landlords; and not all of them exempt from theſe ſame iniquitous practices concerning which they are to judge. In ſhort, the tenant is ejected, and the landlord gets the farm, which he pretended was ruined and worn out; and yet the very next day he lets it at double the former rent, and is not aſhamed. I ſee ſome of you before me againſt whom this dreadful game hath been lately played off.

The cauſes and means hitherto mentioned, by which the rent of land hath been ſcrewed up ſo high, are

ſuch as flow from the avarice and iniquity of other people; but I muſt tell you alſo,

4. That this high rate of land is in a great degree owing to yourſelves. By your credulity and vanity, you are the means and cauſe of that ſame evil which oppreſſes you. Whenever a farm is to be let, there are perhaps fifty of you ſtriving to get it, all outbidding one another, and offering for it at a rate which every man of ſenſe foreſees you will never be able to pay. When an old tenant hath greatly improved his farm, and the taſk-maſter is aſking a higher rent, many of you are lying at the catch, and ready to offer all that he demands, by which means you effectually ruin yourſelves, and are partners with the taſk-maſter in his injuſtice and oppreſſion. Thoſe who have farms already, but want to have additional or greater ones—the ſons of farmers—the ſervants who have made a little ſtock—ſometimes alſo tradeſmen, have, for many years paſt, by the high offers they made, turned the weak heads of the landholders, and made them believe that no rate was too high for their lands. Had it not been, that when any farm was to be let, there were ſo many in competition bidding high for it, it would have been impoſſible that the oppreſſion of farmers could have come to ſuch a lamentable height as it hath actually reached: For, could the proprietors have turned the arable land into paſture? A great part of Scotland is naturally ſuch; and, many years ago, much arable land was wreſted from the tenants, and applied to the maintenance of ſheep and black cattle; ſo that long ago as great a proportion of land was ſet aſide for paſture as was likely to turn to good account. Could the landholders have kept all the farms in their natural poſſeſſion, as they call it, this they muſt ſoon have wearied of, and the wiſeſt of them would hardly have tried it. For hitherto gentlemen have found, that when they turned their own farmers, though they might raiſe

very good crops, they were very far from being gainers by the trade. Would they have tried to bring tenants from some other country? But who would have submitted to such toil and misery as you have undergone? What then must they have done with their land? Why, if you had been wise, they would have been obliged to let it to you at a reasonable rate; but you were and are foolish, and they avail themselves of your folly. Some of them let their lands openly by way of auction or public roup; and then the task-master, with all his eloquence, displays the wonderful fertility and advantages of his farms; and with the strong spiritous bottle in his hand, he reaches out full bumpers to every rash bidder, and intoxicates and cajoles them to ruin themselves and one another. Other landlords choose a method perhaps as insnaring; I am sure it is more debasing: They publicly advertise, that every one who wants such or such a farm shall send to them his highest offer inclosed. By this means they have opportunity to inquire into the circumstances of the several offerers, and to pitch on that one who hath the largest stock. Of this they are extremely desirous. You may hear one of them who has a pitiful farm to let, boasting of its goodness, and wishing he had a sensible tenant to it who has 500 l. or 600 l. stock. These men never consider, that if a man is sensible, and has 500 l. he will disdain to concern himself with such beggarly farms, while he hath the chance of fifty to one of employing it to better purpose in some branch of merchandise or manufacture, and knows, that to these farms many "come full and go away empty." But though a man of sense is on his guard at their roups and in making offers to them, the weak are catched. The landholder assures them, that the soil of his land is so rich, that every acre of it will yield ten or twelve bolls; and, by a fatal credulity, the farmers believe that he is speaking truth. Their vanity to be farmers

helps alſo to inſnare them. In this country, a farmer is more reputable than a tradeſman; which, I ſuppoſe, hath happened by the integrity of ancient farmers, and the uſefulneſs of their buſineſs; juſt as I know a conſtable in a certain pariſh, who, by his honeſt and conſcientious walk, hath rendered his humble office far more reſpectable than that of his landlord, who is a judge. It is from this vanity that the ſons of farmers think ſhame to go to ſervice, and thoſe who have been long in ſervice deſire much to have farms. This vanity is as a halter about your neck, of which the taſk-maſter takes faſt hold, and thereby leads you to ruin. This vanity you ſhould have controuled, and continued in ſervice, or at your trades, and then you might have paſſed through life with tolerable comfort. But by an exceſs of credulity you believed the deceitful words of the landholders. Your vanity made you offer high for every farm, even for ſuch as had been long poſſeſſed by the tenants then living upon them; a thing againſt which there is always an outcry; and it is rarely or never done in England; and which, if not directly unjuſt, doth at leaſt border upon injuſtice, and encourages oppreſſion. You got the old tenants removed; your high offers were accepted; you were unable to pay; and it was even impoſſible you ſhould. Hence there are ſo many of you, in this very aſſembly, who have had your crops ſeized upon, your cattle pounded and driven away, your houſes plundered, and your perſons impriſoned; your children who were able, ſent to ſervice or to beg, and the reſt ſtarving in your miſerable huts. Thus the rent of land is high, from the avarice and artifices of the landholder, and from the credulity and vanity of the farmer.

Before I diſmiſs this head, I cannot but take notice, that the pretence for afflicting the Iſraelites was an averſion to idleneſs: "Ye are idle, ye are idle," ſaid the taſk-maſters. And it is remarkable, that our

noble lords and commoners diſcover alſo a mighty abhorrence of that ſame ſin of idleneſs; they would make us believe that they are in fear leſt the very ſouls of their tenants ſhould be ruined by it; they dread the effects of it at leaſt on their inferiors. You may hear one of them boaſting with much ſelf-applauſe: "Such a tenant of mine was idle; I doubled his rents; he works hard ſoon and late; he attends to his buſineſs even on the Sundays; ſo that I believe he will pay me better now than he did before." There have been ignorant and perverſe ſtateſmen who gave out, that the heavier the taxes were which they impoſed on the nation, the ſubjects became the more happy; and there are landholders of a like underſtanding and temper, who believe, that the higher the rents are which they exact from their tenants, they are in the better condition to pay them. The next head of diſcourſe is to ſhow,

3. What are already the effects of the high rate of land, and what muſt be the further conſequences of it. Its effects are grievous to individuals, and in time muſt hurt or ruin the nation; it is the cauſe of miſery, and debauches the morals of the people. For,

1. It is oppreſſion; and oppreſſion, as hath been ſeen in part already, is miſery: It is indeed but another name for it. Perpetual and ſore bodily labour, without any proſpect of enjoying the fruits of it, or of ſome eaſe, is certainly miſery. Indeed the ſeverity of labour is mitigated by the hope of eaſe or profit; but here it often happens, that no ſuch hope can be entertained. By the hardeſt labour, in very many caſes, no more can be done but the tale of the bricks made up; as much gained as will pay the greedy maſter. Nay, in many inſtances this cannot be done; and then the diſtreſs and miſery of the poor farmer is complete. He hath the vexation to ſee his children ſtarved and naked, his houſe ſpoiled, his

corn and cattle seized upon, to satisfy the demands of his task-master; demands which are highly unreasonable, but which by his credulity he had obliged himself to fulfil.

2. The high rate of land occasions a sort of hostility between the rich and the poor. They are really like the plebeians and patricians in ancient Rome, in a state of war against one another. The landholders have no compassion on the poor laborious farmers; they relent not at the sight of their indigence and misery. Let the tenant's wants be ever so deplorable; let his wretchedness be ever so unmerited; though his corn-fields have been destroyed by winds or rains, all this is no matter to almost any master. He must have, without abatement, all that in rigour of law he can demand, whatever may become of the tenant and his family. On the other hand, the farmers have a real hatred of their landlords, whom they find to be so rigid task-masters; they imprecate the curse and vengeance of God upon them and their families. Living miserably under them, and unable, by all their toil, to pay them, they are every moment in fear lest they come upon them, and strip them of all they have, and turn them out of doors. Hence it is, that if any man in rich equipage and dress is seen near their houses, they think it must be their landlord, and are at once thrown into a dreadful alarm. Were the great beneficent in proportion to their power, or were they but looked upon as harmless, the poor would rejoice to see them, and think themselves honoured to meet and converse with them. But, at the very sight of them, the hapless farmer and his family expect immediate beggary and ruin; the children run and hide their heads; the wife trembles; and the farmer himself, when called upon, goes to meet his master with all the expressive symptoms of aversion, hatred, and fear. Having felt the rigour of their masters so often, they dread to feel it again: Like those ancient slaves,

who had weapons in their hands, and were able to defend themſelves, but when they ſaw the ſcourges lifted up, the ſtrokes of which they had ſo often felt, they in a panic immediately threw down their weapons, and took to their heels.

3. Our common people, by being ſo rigorouſly uſed, have the ſenſe of truth and juſtice miſerably blunted. They fall into a low ſort of trick and cunning, and are many of them of a thieviſh diſpoſition. Oppreſſion, it is ſaid, will make a wiſe man mad: "Give me not poverty, (Agur prays) leſt I ſteal, and take the name of my God in vain." The ſlaves in ancient times are deſcribed as having been deceitful, and who thought it no crime to pilfer and ſteal; of which vices their ſlavery and rigorous treatment are ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe. Our poor farmers, when they cannot by all their toil pay their maſters, and are ſtripped of all they have, look on that treatment as robbery, and as unjuſtifiable as theft itſelf. By pitiful artifices they learn to retaliate, and to act againſt truth and juſtice. It is really aſtoniſhing to ſee how falſe many of them are, and how little ſenſe they have that juſtice is a duty. This is no doubt owing to other powerful cauſes; but it is fatally helped on by the oppreſſion they ſuffer; for it is chiefly againſt the rich that their cunning is played off, and they imagine it is excuſable even to ſteal from them. Believing them to be their natural enemies, provided they can do it with impunity, they ſcruple not to pilfer and ſteal from them, and to impoſe upon them by trick and chicane. Nay, from the iniquity they bear towards their ſuperiors, there are many of them who would rejoice at their downfal. Lamentable indeed is their want of charity: If a factor breaks his leg when he is going to pillage a poor man's houſe, they ſay the judgments of God have begun to overtake him; if a taſk-maſter dies of a ſurfeit, though he expreſs ſome remorſe, and be in dreadful agony and horror at the thought of his

oppreſſion, you hear them ſaying, with a malignant ſneer, The oppreſſor hath got his portion, and is now gone to his own place!

4. In conſequence of the drudgery and the great hardſhips they undergo, the common people become ſtupid and unconcerned about religion and their immortal ſouls. A temporary affliction is oftentimes the means of rouſing men to ſerious thought, but a continued oppreſſion benumbs their ſpirits, and renders them incapable of thought and action. Totally occupied about their preſent ſtate, and groaning under the weight of immediate ſufferings, they have neither time nor inclination to think of the means of eſcaping ſufferings of an endleſs duration. The queſtion with them is not, How ſhall we eſcape the wrath that is to come? But, How ſhall we pay a rigid landlord? How ſhall we ſave our cattle from being driven away, our houſes from being plundered, and our children from ſtarving? How ſhall we eſcape the hand of oppreſſion, and the wrath of cruel men who have us in their power? And as oppreſſion diſqualifies men from thinking on God and the ſtate of their immortal ſouls, it even enervates their minds ſo much, that they are incapable of diſcerning the means of bettering their circumſtances in the preſent life. As if transformed into ſtocks and ſtones, they ſit motionleſs, and receive on their backs the furrows of oppreſſion. Many of them might find, even in this country, the means of leſſening their miſery, at leaſt in ſome degree; but they have loſt the exerciſe of reaſon; they dream on from day to day, in a drowſy inactivity; and if at any time they ſee a means of being delivered from bondage and miſery, the ſmalleſt difficulty terrifies them, and makes them chooſe to abide in ſlavery. This ſtupifying effect of oppreſſion is remarkably evident from the hiſtory of the Iſraelites. Even when their deliverance was actually begun; when, by a train of miracles, they had got ſo far out of E-

gypt, and knew that God was on their ſide; yet when they ſee Pharaoh and the Egyptians coming after them, they ſaid unto Moſes, "Becauſe there were no graves in Egypt, haſt thou taken us away to die in the wilderneſs? Wherefore haſt thou dealt thus with us, to carry us out of Egypt? Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, ſaying, Let us alone, that we may ſerve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us that we ſhould ſerve the Egyptians, than that we ſhould die in the wilderneſs." They truſted not in God; their minds were debaſed "for anguiſh of ſpirit, and for cruel bondage." Juſt ſo our farmers, by ſore drudgery, have their ſpirits depreſſed and their minds debaſed. Having been long in ſlavery, they ſeem to be in conceit with ſlavery. When oppreſſed, they dare not complain; when robbed and beaten, they will not go beyond the reach of the ſtrokes; when rid upon and unmercifully battered by the Balaams of the age, like dumb aſſes, they will not open their mouths. Had they ſpirit, and could ſpeak, they might with great propriety ſay to their oppreſſors, as the aſs of the old covetous and blindfolded Balaam ſaid to him, "What have I done? Why haſt thou ſmitten me? Am not I thine aſs, upon which thou haſt ridden ever ſince I was thine?" I may add,

5. That the ſcrewing up of rent to an exorbitant pitch doth in fact diminiſh the clear incomes of the landlord. Some are ſo fond of a nominal high rent, that, rejecting the offers of wealthy tenants which would be paid, they let their lands to poor beggarly people, who, whatever they may promiſe, will never pay a ſhilling. And whenever a ſubſtantial tenant finds, that by all his toil he will not be able to pay the whole of his rent, he ſcarcely endeavours to pay any part of it; he loſes all courage; he hath no ſufficient motive to labour, becauſe he ſees that the profit of his labour will accrue not to himſelf, but to his taſk-maſter. Nay, foreſeeing that all he hath will in

a little time be violently taken from him, he takes care beforehand to ſecrete and put out of the way as much of his ſubſtance as he can. Do not you and I know of great eſtates which have been miſmanaged, and the incomes of them diminiſhed by the method I ſpeak of?

Time would fail me to mention all the deplorable effects of the high rate of land. Theſe I have taken notice of relate to the farmers who are oppreſſed; but its effects are grievous and diſtreſſing to others alſo, and deſtructive to the public. When a large territory is thrown waſte, the poor people who are driven away become a burden on ſome neighbouring diſtrict or pariſh; or they reſort to cities, which is the cauſe that ſuch ſwarms of beggars are to be ſeen on the ſtreets and in the neighbourhood of great towns. This itſelf is a ſeverer grievance than is commonly believed; for in this nation we have no poors rates; and the landed gentlemen, and whoever is rich, have almoſt to a man deſerted the church, where contributions are made for the poor; by which means the farmers and tradeſmen have got the burden of ſupporting the poor; and as the number of them, by the means of high rents, hath multiplied ſo faſt, to ſupport them is a very grievous burden indeed. From the ſame cauſe agriculture is diſcouraged, and ſcarcity may be the conſequence. This land, though its ſoil in general is not rich, is by proper cultivation able to maintain perhaps double the number of its preſent inhabitants; and the greater the number of induſtrious hands employed in cultivating the earth, the greater is the produce which it yields: But ſome of our laborious people have already been driven abroad, and many of them have been forced to apply to other employments at home. It is the advantage and ſecurity of any country to raiſe from itſelf ſufficient ſubſiſtence for all its inhabitants; for it is but a precarious means of ſupport which may be expected by importation from foreign markets, as is juſt now evident from ex-

perience. The ſea-ports are and have been open, and yet the price of grain hath been riſing for ſeveral months; and what diſmal effect the continued ſcarcity or dearneſs of grain muſt have on the manufactures of the country is viſible to every perſon. From the ſame cauſe alſo, people who are rigorouſly dealt with loſe all concern for the welfare of the country. If they were allowed to paſs their days in tolerable eaſe, they would, like the children of Iſrael in Babylon, ſeek the good of the land where they dwell; but if they are ſqueezed, and their oppreſſion be extreme, they loſe, as I have ſaid, all attachment to a country where they find themſelves ſo miſerable. There muſt needs be bitter envyings and inteſtine grudges where the wealth of a country flows into the hands of a few: If theſe few are ſuppoſed not to have their minds enlarged with knowledge, or embelliſhed with thoſe arts which adorn human nature; if, beſides, they are reputed to be ſelfiſh and rapacious, they may depend upon it, that, whatever outward reſpect they meet with, they are both hated and deſpiſed. They have much of the property of the country, and ſeem not to deſerve it; that country therefore will be weakly defended againſt the attacks of foreign enemies; for no man will judge that to be his country, where he neither hath nor ever can have any property at all; nor will he defend the property of others with that ſpirit with which he is keen to fight for his own. An oppreſſed people look upon themſelves as unconnected with the country, and ceaſe to have any anxiety about its welfare. Tell them that the land is going to be invaded by a foreign army, they are totally unalarmed; being wretched themſelves, they are perfectly indifferent whether domeſtic oppreſſors or foreign invaders ſhall be ſucceſsful; they are like the aſs in the meadow, and muſt ſtill bear their burdens. Would the Iſraelites, after they had been forced to make brick without ſtraw, have taken up arms to fight

for the Egyptians, had the Ethiopians then invaded the country? They might have ſtood neuter, or made their eſcape from miſery in the ſcuffle; or poſſibly a quick and pungent ſenſe of oppreſſion might have provoked them to join the invaders, whoſe ſeverity they had never experienced.

To be ſhort, the high rate of land muſt in the iſſue produce depopulation. This is an effect which Pharaoh foreſaw muſt, without a miracle, follow on the heels of oppreſſion; "And Pharaoh ſaid, Behold, the people of the land now are many, and you make them reſt from their burdens. Come on, let us deal wiſely with them, leſt they multiply. Therefore did they ſet taſk-maſters over them to afflict them with their burdens." Therefore, that they might not multiply, they ſet taſk-maſters over them. They formed a political ſcheme of oppreſſion, and they clearly foreſaw its conſequence; and that conſequence, though not foreſeen by our landed men, is, from the meaſures they purſue, as certain as if it were in fact foreſeen and intended by them. Wherever there is a place where two perſons can live commodiouſly, there will be a marriage; which, I may ſay, is the only method of continuing or increaſing the numbers of a people; and by nature both parties are powerfully inclined to marry, except they be hindered by the difficulty of ſubſiſtence. But when a young man hath ſeen his father impoveriſhed and driven from houſe and home, hath been pinched with hunger in his youth, and is yet but able to ſupport himſelf, he will not be raſh to divide the means of his ſubſiſtence by entering into a marriage-connection. It is indeed obſervable, that many of the upper or genteel people in this country ſcarce marry at all; and ſome are of opinion that this is far from being a detriment to the public, and that ſtateſmen ſhould diſcourage ſuch marriages, becauſe they would but increaſe the number of idle and uſeleſs people; an opinion which I think is impolitical

and ill founded: I am ſure it is unnatural and inhumane; an error proceeding upon a ſuppoſition that the children of ſuch marriages could not be uſeful in the church, the navy, or the army, or would thereby be degraded; an error that ſprings from not attending to an effect, a growing effect of commerce, which is, to deſtroy or level all diſtinction of ranks, to ſet the induſtrious ſon of a farmer or mechanic above the idle ſon of a peer, and makes it no way ſhameful for the ſon of a peer to plead at the bar, or be buſy in the counting-houſe. Nay, it is fifty to one if the children produced by ſuch marriages have not more merit than thoſe of the wealthy: In youth, they will imbibe inſtruction, and learn uſeful arts, becauſe they know they muſt do it; whereas moſt of thoſe who know they are born to a great fortune reject and deſpiſe education, and, be they ever ſo rich, continue all their lives good for nothing. And I hope no ſtateſman in Britain ſhall ever be inveſted with the dangerous power of hindering a marriage, becauſe he imagines the fortune of the parties to be leſs than their rank would require. But though to ſome people, and in ſome caſes, this point may appear ſomewhat dubious, yet every perſon muſt ſee that what I aim at is evident even to a demonſtration; that when laborious people, by the hardſhips they lie under, are terrified from marriage, that tends directly to the depopulation and ruin of a country, becauſe the number of working hands is the riches and ſtrength of a nation. In ſhort, depopulation muſt be the effect of the high rate of land, becauſe a people oppreſſed in one country will naturally reſort to ſome other. If the price of grain is high, the manufacturers will go elſewhere; if it falls low while rent is high, the farmers muſt withdraw to ſome place where they can live. On either ſuppoſition, high rents muſt be the cauſe of depopulation. This, it is true, will weaken the country theſe people depart from; but they will con-

ſider, and if they be wiſe they ought to conſider, that a country is their country no longer than by reaſonable labour and induſtry they are able to provide a tolerable ſubſiſtence in it. I ſhall have occaſion to enlarge farther on this point under a following head of diſcourſe; at preſent I break off, and conclude this forenoon's ſermon. But as I apprehend there are ſome hearing me who have either exacted extravagant rents, or encouraged and adviſed that rigour and oppreſſion, I will take the liberty of making a ſhort addreſs to them in the language of holy writ.

"Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the houſe of Jacob, and princes of the houſe of Iſrael, that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity; is it not for you to know judgment, who hate the good and love the evil? By reaſon of the multitude of your oppreſſions, you make the oppreſſed to cry; men groan from out of the city, and the ſoul of the wounded crieth out; they cry out by reaſon of the arm of the mighty. You pluck off their ſkin from off them, and break their bones, and chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as fleſh within the caldron. You turn judgment into wormwood, and leave off righteouſneſs in the earth. You pluck the fatherleſs from the breaſt, and take a pledge of the poor. You cauſe them to go naked without clothing, and take away the ſheaf from the hungry." If a tenant thrives in your land, you grudge at his proſperity; you either rack his rent that he may thrive no more, or you ſend him adrift, and bereave him of the fruit of his labour. If your tenants go to wreck, as many of them muſt do, you ſee their miſerable ſtate, and you have no pity; you ſnatch the lean morſel from the ſtarving mouth, and embitter the miſery of the miſerable. Are your hearts ſteeled againſt all the impreſſions of humanity? Are your ears ſhut againſt the piercing and doleful cries of the poor? Do not you hear them often ſaying to you, "We have underſtanding as well as you; where-

fore are we counted to you as beaſts, and reputed vile in your ſight? How long will it be ere you make an end of rigour towards us? Did not he that formed us in the womb form you? Are not our natural wants the ſame with yours? Is our ſtrength the ſtrength of ſtones, or is our fleſh of braſs? You compel us to make brick without ſtraw; you lay burdens upon us which cruſh us to the ground. We deſire to live and die in the land where we were born; we are content to labour, and to labour hard, to do juſtice to you, and make you live at eaſe; but while we ſtrive to anſwer your ſevere demands, we wear out our ſtrength with toil; our children are naked and ſtarving, and we have neither clothes nor bread to give them. We wiſhed to work for you, and to look upon you as our nurſing-fathers; but you have no pity on us. Even the ſea-monſters draw out the breaſt, and give ſuck to their little ones; but you are become cruel, like the oſtriches in the wilderneſs; we muſt leave this land, we muſt ſeek out another abode, and bid you farewell."

That I may ſtill ſpeak to you in the language of ſcripture, "Hear this word, ye kine of Baſhan, which are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppreſs the poor, which cruſh the needy, which ſay, Bring and let us drink; who drive away the aſs of the fatherleſs, and take the widow's ox for a pledge, and turn the needy out of the way, ſo that the poor of the earth hide themſelves." By your exactions, you have already begun to ſcatter the people and to drive them away. If you be not as blind as you are avaricious, do you not ſee that you are ruining yourſelves? What do you think will be your condition, if one or two hundred thouſand people ſhall leave you, and take up their dwelling in foreign lands? In that caſe, muſt not your rent ſink very low? You perhaps imagine there is not room for them abroad; but you miſtake the matter; there is a good land, and a large, open

to receive them; and that God, who with a ſtrong hand delivered the Iſraelites from Egyptian bondage, can deliver the people of this land from the hardſhips under which you make them groan. You ſuppoſe, perhaps, that, from a fond attachment to their native country, they will ſtill continue to toil and ſtarve, as moſt of them have hitherto done. But the weight of oppreſſion muſt overbalance that attachment; avarice often defeats its own aim, and in this particular caſe it muſt, in the iſſue, unavoidably have that effect. The farmers are in ſome ſort your property; for from them your land derives its value; and whenever you drive away one of them, you thereby diminiſh your incomes; and beſides, every laborious man is worth a great ſum of money to his country. How poor and defenceleſs will this country be, if, by your covetouſneſs and rigour, it is ſpoiled of its inhabitants! The proportion of brave men which this nation furniſhed to the navy and the army in the late war was high, and is almoſt incredible. Will ſuch a ſupply be poſſible in time of need, if the land ſhall be depopulated? You are often complaining that our miniſters of ſtate act fooliſhly, when, at the end of a war, they diſmiſs ſo great a number of brave ſeamen; all of whom, you ſay, might be retained in the ſervice, if two or three overgrown penſions were wiſely applied to maintain them. Will you ruin your country, by beating time with the aukward and impolitical meaſures of a covetous and bungling miniſtry, which you deſpiſe and condemn? It is time, it is high time for you to alter your meaſures, to ceaſe from oppreſſion, and, if poſſible, prevent the deſolation of the land. Exact not the whole; nay, abate a great deal of that which your tenants have of late obliged themſelves to pay. When you granted them leaſes, oat-meal was at 15 d. a-peck. It hath ſince been a third cheaper. Can you in conſcience exact all that which they have fooliſhly obliged themſelves

to pay? Think on juſtice and equity, and you will be moved by the fear of a righteous God, and by a regard to your own intereſt, to abate a great part of what you can in rigour demand. Reſtore to their poſſeſſions thoſe whom you have ejected, and reſtore them on equitable terms. Let me addreſs you in the words of Nehemiah, which were immediately complied with; "Reſtore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vine-yards, their olive-yards, and their houſes, alſo the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that you exact of them. And they ſaid, We will reſtore, and require nothing of them." Make ſome proviſion for the many diſtreſſed families, whoſe vitals you have ſucked and left them to ſtarve. Reſtore the pledge, and give again that ye had robbed. Parcel out your waſte grounds to ſober and induſtrious families, and encourage them to abide with you: "And the deſolate land ſhall be tilled, whereas it lay deſolate in the ſight of all that paſſed by." Inſtead of enriching yourſelves by grinding the faces of the poor, pity them, relieve them; for "He that by uſury and unjuſt gain increaſeth his ſubſtance, he ſhall gather it for him who will pity the poor." Can any of you have greater pleaſure in life, than to behold a number of poor families brought from diſtreſs into comfortable circumſtances by your means? Is there any character more noble, than that of ſuch a compaſſionate and humane man? Is there any more reſpectable in youth, or in old age? "Behold," ſays Samuel, "I am old and grey-headed, and I have walked before you from my childhood to this day. Behold, here I am, witneſs againſt me before the Lord. Whoſe ox have I taken? or whoſe aſs have I taken? whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppreſſed? or of whoſe hand have I received any bribe?" I hope, that though inhumanity and extortion have become ſo faſhionable, there are ſtill many of you who eſteem

ſuch a character, and ſome of you who ſtrive to deſerve it: Theſe laſt will be beloved and eſteemed while they are alive, and their memory will be precious and revered. In the mean time, they will have peace from within, and ſecurity from without: For "He that walketh righteouſly—he that deſpiſeth the gain of oppreſſion, and ſhaketh his hand from holding of bribes—he ſhall dwell on high, his place of defence ſhall be the munition of rocks—bread ſhall be given him, his water ſhall be ſure."

Allow me alſo to addreſs myſelf to you who make the bulk of this aſſembly. Many of you are in worldly diſtreſs; ſtrive to make your peace with God, and no miſery ſhall purſue you beyond the grave. No taſk-maſter can diſturb that peaceful manſion; for "there the wicked ceaſe from troubling; there the weary are at reſt; there the priſoners reſt together; they hear not the voice of the oppreſſor." You are blamed for being lazy and idle; and I fear ſome of you are blame-worthy. You know that it is the lot of man to eat his bread with the ſweat of his brows, and that idleneſs leads to almoſt every ſin. Pray, read the word of God, and ſanctify the Sabbath; and remember, that to work and provide for your families is an eſſential part of religion. God manifeſts himſelf to thoſe who are diligent about their lawful buſineſs. It was when Moſes kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law at Horeb, that God appeared to him in the burning buſh, and promiſed to deliver the Iſraelites, in the words of the text. It was when Gideon was threſhing wheat by the wine-preſs, that an angel appeared to him, and promiſed a like deliverance. And an angel, with the glad tidings of great joy, came upon the ſhepherds at Bethlehem, whilſt they were keeping watch over their flocks by night. You who have yet farms to cultivate, work with your hands, and ſtrive to attain ſkill in your buſineſs; and "your God will inſtruct you to diſcretion, and teach

you." There are many of you who have no farms; and there are abundance of farms publicly offered to be let; and the proprietors of them are no doubt expecting to enſnare you as before. Pauſe and conſider how to act. If you could mortify your vanity, and apply to ſome other buſineſs for a few years, you would certainly bring the moſt avaricious taſk-maſters to reaſon, and get farms at an equitable rate. Take care that you act not fooliſhly, as many of you have formerly done. Do not give ſport to your oppreſſors, by making high offers againſt one another. Take not farms at a rent which you will never be able to pay, leſt you bring yourſelves into circumſtances ſtill more calamitous than thoſe you are in at preſent. But whether you have farms, or have been driven out of them, I beſeech you, that from the fear of God and regard to your immortal ſouls, you violate not the eternal laws of truth and juſtice. Sore oppreſſion may ſeem to make ſome apology for falſehood and injuſtice in the ſight of men, but nothing can excuſe it in the ſight of God. Though you ſhould be unmercifully ſtripped of any ſmall pittance you have, and forced to beg from door to door, leading your infants in your hands, or carrying them in your arms, yet hold faſt your integrity, and refuſe to let it go. A man oppreſſed and impoveriſhed, and yet juſt and honeſt, is a reſpectable character. Act with ſuch uprightneſs, that you may be able to appeal to God in the words of his ancient church: "All this is come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we dealt falſely in thy covenant. Our heart is not turned back, neither have our ſteps declined from thy way; though thou haſt ſore broken us in the place of dragons, and covered us with the ſhadow of death." I do not adviſe you to abide content, or to abide at all in a ſtate of oppreſſion; I think you ought to look about for the means of being delivered from it; you ſhould cry to God for deliverance. When the Iſraelites cried to

God by reaſon of their taſk-maſters, God ſaw their affliction, and heard their cry. I proceed to the next head of diſcourſe, which is to ſhow,

4. That it is the duty and conſolation of an afflicted people to cry unto God.

Prayer is the duty of men at all times, eſpecially in a time of diſtreſs: Affliction ſhould bring men to God; it ever had, and ever will have, this effect upon the faithful; and when they cry to God, they are comforted. This is manifeſt from the hiſtory of ſaints in holy ſcripture; it is manifeſt alſo from the experience of every devout man. When the righteous cry to God in faith, he either makes affliction to ſit light upon them, or elſe comes to deliver them from it. When the Iſraelites "ſighed and cried by reaſon of their bondage, God heard their groaning, and remembered his covenant." And I may here take notice, that the Iſraelites in Egypt cried to God, becauſe he had given them particular ground to expect deliverance. Good old Jacob had, in his laſt moments, aſſured them of it: "Behold," ſays he, "I die; but God ſhall be with you, and bring you again unto the land of your fathers." Alſo the patriarch Joſeph had ſaid unto them, "I die; and God will ſurely viſit you, and bring you out of this land." It was faith, founded on theſe aſſurances, that diſpoſed the Iſraelites to cry to God in hope of deliverance. You, my friends, who complain of being in grievous diſtreſs, you have no particular prediction from heaven; nor can you hope, like the Iſraelites, to be delivered in a miraculous manner; but you have numberleſs promiſes of the faithful God, that he "will deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor alſo, and him that hath no helper. He will regard the prayer of the deſtitute, and will not deſpiſe their prayer. I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their ſorrow." And in the words of the text, "I have ſurely ſeen the afflic-

tion of my people who are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reaſon of their taſk-maſters; for I know their ſorrows."

But when you cry to God in behalf of yourſelves, you ought alſo to pray for thoſe who by rigorous demands are the cauſe of the hardſhips you ſuffer: Your hardſhips, if you have faith in Chriſt, will at fartheſt end with your lives; but their ſufferings, without repentance and reſtitution, will but begin at death, and will, alas! have no end. Oppreſſion is one of the moſt heinous ſins; the dreadful curſes of Almighty God are denounced againſt it. So far from returning evil for evil, even in thought, pray for thoſe whom you look upon as chargeable with it; they have no pity on you or on themſelves, and are really in a deplorable and pitiable ſtate: Pray that God may alarm their conſciences, and open their eyes to ſee the horrible guilt of inhumanity, avarice, and cruelty. Whatever they have done, or are doing towards you, act not only juſtly, but like Chriſtians towards them. The command of him, by whoſe atonement you hope to be ſaved in the great day of God, is, "Love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his ſun to riſe on the evil and on the good, and ſendeth rain on the juſt and on the unjuſt."

I will only add on this head, that when you cry to God for deliverance, you ought to pray to him, that you may be enabled to diſcern the means of being delivered: The means of relief may be very perceivable, and yet not perceived by you. There are few people in ſtraitening circumſtances who might not better their condition, could they exert that activity, and exerciſe that reaſon which God hath given them. Indeed, when a people have been long enſlaved and continually occupied in hard labour, it commonly

happens, that their underſtanding is impaired in proportion as their bodily ſtrength is worn out by the drudgery they have undergone. Every body except themſelves ſees how in all probability they might eaſily emerge out of the miſerable condition in which they are. You have been and you are in diſtreſs; you have need to pray to God that he would enlighten you to diſcern the means of being reſcued from it. Pray to him "who relieves the oppreſſed, and gives food to the hungry; who opens the eyes of the blind, and raiſeth them that are bowed down;" that he may open your eyes to diſcern the proper means, the path in which you ſhould go and run to eſcape the rod of oppreſſion. The path may be plain and wide, but you will not ſee it till God ſhall be pleaſed to open your eyes. When the cottage of Eliſha was ſurrounded by the Syrian army, the prophet's ſervant could not ſee the armies which heaven had ſent for his protection, till his eyes were opened. When Hagar and her child were dying of thirſt, ſhe could not ſee the well of water that was juſt before her, till God had opened her eyes. In the next head of diſcourſe,

5. I am to ſhow, That as the Iſraelites were delivered out of the houſe of bondage by the arm of God, ſo the people who are oppreſſed in this land have, by divine providence, an effectual means of being delivered from the hardſhips they groan under. "I am come down," God ſays in the text, "to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them out of that land unto a good land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey."

God promiſed deliverance to his people, and by an outſtretched arm he made his promiſe good. Now we are not to expect miracles, and prophecy hath ceaſed; you will hear no voice from Heaven, telling you where to fly from the hardſhips you complain of: But God ſpeaks to you by facts, by the viſible courſe

of his providential adminiſtration: And, humanly ſpeaking, you have juſt now a ſurer proſpect of effectual and ſpeedy relief than the Iſraelites had when Moſes called upon them to leave Egypt: The relief I mean is in the wide and pleaſant fields of North America, lately added and ſecured to the dominions of our mild and gracious ſovereign. And dare any man ſay that ſuch a large acceſſion of territory to the empire of Britain hath not been purpoſely provided by divine providence to afford a comfortable habitation to thoſe who are ſo ill uſed and ſo much borne down in this country? It was when the Iſraelites were compelled to make brick without ſtraw, that the cup of the Amorites began to be full: It was when the rate of land in this country was riſing ſo high that laborious farmers could not live by it, that the God of war and peace provided abundance of room for them in a different part of the world.

And every one who carefully reads the holy ſcripture, or takes notice of the ordinary diſpenſations of providence, will obſerve, that oftentimes, when either individual perſons, or a whole people, have been brought into diſtreſs, there is proviſion made for their eſcape, and "a great door, and effectual, is opened" unto them. When a people are in this condition, and like the Iſraelites cry for relief, God hath pity on them. "Behold," ſays he, "I am come down to deliver them."—"Behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderneſs, and ſpeak comfortably to her: and I will give her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope; and ſhe ſhall ſing as in the days of her youth, as in the day when ſhe came up out of the land of Egypt."

I am very ſenſible, that, from that fond attachment moſt of you have to the place you know or were born in, you may think the relief I mention is hardly any relief at all. Some of you have never been twenty miles from where you were born, and you derive

ſmall comfort from the thought of going to ſo diſtant a country; notwithſtanding all your miſery, you have little inclination to leave the ſcene of it, and imagine it is an irkſome thing to remove ſo far. And I confeſs, that when a few only remove at a time, there is ſomething irkſome in it; but when a great number of families, or the inhabitants of a country-ſide, lift themſelves as it were at once, and remove together in company, there is nothing irkſome in it at all. They embark in the ſame veſſels; they ſail away and ſolace one another in the voyage; they reach the peaceful ſhore together; they ſet themſelves down in their new habitations, and live in neighbourhood juſt as before. Such emigrations or removals of a whole people from one land to another, have nothing diſagreeable in them; they were frequent in former ages, and not long ago we have inſtances of them. When a country is overſtocked with inhabitants, ſo that the land is not able to maintain them, it becomes neceſſary for them to ſeek out new dwellings: when a people are under tyranny and religious perſecution, it is natural for them to fly away to another land. To this cauſe the moſt induſtrious and flouriſhing of the Britiſh colonies owed its origin and increaſe; to this alſo we owe the woolen manufacture. When the induſtrious manufacturers were perſecuted in the low countries, they fled for refuge to this iſland, and eſtabliſhed that manufacture, which hath ſince been purſued with ſo much advantage to this kingdom. This land is neither overſtocked with inhabitants, nor can you juſtly complain of civil tyranny or religious perſecution; and yet you are in very deplorable circumſtances. You are not tyranniſed over by the ſovereign, but by a ſet of petty tyrants; and your miſery is the more grievous, as it is brought upon you by perſons who are all of them covetous, many of them poſſeſſed of little merit, and who moſt of them have not a greater ſhare of underſtanding than you

have yourſelves. Through their inſatiable avarice, encouraged by your folly, they have raiſed the rent of land to ſo enormous a height, that, by the ſevereſt toil and the moſt pinching frugality, you cannot, in this land, procure even a ſcrimp ſubſiſtence. I behold your miſery in your very countenances, and you feel, you bitterly feel, the truth of what I have ſaid.

An emigration, therefore, ſeems neceſſary: It is, I think, the only expedient by which you can be effectually reſcued from miſery, and get beyond the reach of thoſe oppreſſors, who, without relenting or diſcovering as yet any ſigns of remorſe, have inhumanly ſeized upon your all, and reduced you to beggary. Your diſtreſs is real, and God hath heard your cry: "Your cry hath come up to God by reaſon of your bondage, and he hath heard your groaning. I am come down," ſays he, "to deliver my people out of this land, and to bring them into a good land and a large." He hath provided room for you, and a wide door for your eſcape; and I am ſtill perſuaded, that whoever of you conſiders the doings of the Lord, and reads attentively the book of providence, will be filled with joy and wonder, that againſt the time of your diſtreſs ſo ample a proviſion is made for your relief: For, in effect, God is, by his providence, ſaying to you, "I will appoint a place for my people, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; neither ſhall the children of wickedneſs afflict them any more, as before-time." Your brethren abroad are calling upon you, "Arife, for we have ſeen the land, and behold it is very good; and are ye ſtill? Be not ſlothful to enter and poſſeſs the land. When ye go, ye ſhall come to a large land: for God hath given it into your hands; a place where there is no want of any thing that is in the earth."

As by your manner of life and your conſtant drudgery, you have had little curioſity, and indeed no time to inform yourſelves about the nature of diſtant coun-

tries, I will, for your information, mention a few particulars, which may tend to convince you, that the means of relief which providence puts in your power is both safe, and will be effectual.—For, in the first place,

1. The lands in North America, of which I speak, are part of the British empire, and the inhabitants are the subjects of our illustrious sovereign King George. When you are feeling the severity of high exactions, I doubt not but many of you may be disposed to steal away, and seek for shelter even in the territories of some foreign prince, who may be the rival or the natural enemy of your country; for nobody can tell what the force of oppression may tempt men to do. When they are brutally used by those whose interest it is to use them well, by those whom by hard labour they support in elegance and ease, they may be tempted to throw themselves into circumstances that are dubious, and even desperate. If they are not totally dispirited by long oppression, they feel indignation at their oppressors; and imagining it can hardly be worse with them than it is at present, they strive at any rate to get out of misery, though death itself should be the consequence. They think like the four leprous men at the gate of Samaria, in a time of famine; "They said one to another, Why sit we here until we die? If we say we will enter into the city, then the famine is in the city, and we shall die there; and if we sit still here, we die also. Now therefore come and let us fall into the host of the Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die." But you ought to suffer very much before you even think of becoming the subjects of another prince; it is a means of relief which no man who regards the laws of his country will dare to justify. But to go from this to America is as safe in the eye of the law, as it is to leave one parish and go to dwell in another. When you have gone there, you are Britons as much

as you are at preſent. It is true, that by emigrating there, you weaken this part of the country, at leaſt for ſome time; but you do not weaken the Britiſh empire; on the contrary, you ſtrengthen it. The land that is now uncultivated will become as the garden of Eden; marriage will be honourable; the number of induſtrious hands will ſpeedily multiply; and you will be a people as the ſtars of heaven, that cannot be numbered. You continue to be ſubjects of the ſame king, governed by the preſent laws, or laws to be afterwards made with your own conſent; and when called upon you will be ready to defend the rights of Britain.

2. The land which God in his providence hath provided for you is fertile; it is a good land. There are indeed large tracks of ground belonging to our king in the far northern parts of America, concerning which this cannot altogether be affirmed; I mean Newfoundland, and perhaps ſome parts of Nova Scotia: But the land I ſpeak of, and which is ready to receive you, is on the back of the flouriſhing and extenſive colony of Virginia, and along the banks of the Ohio. There may be places where one might be ſafe enough from oppreſſion, and which may be tolerably fertile too; but by the want of water, or the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, (ſuch as was that of Darien) it is not deſirable to live in them. But in this good land, though ſtill in its natural ſtate, the ſoil is fertile; the climate is mild; the air ſerene; the heat not ſultry in ſummer, nor the cold exceſſive in winter; the proſpect of the hills delightful; and the valleys plentifully watered with cryſtal ſtreams deſcending from the upper grounds. But reſt not with the few hints which I am haſtily throwing out; aſk thoſe who know and have ſeen the land: They will ſhow you the fruit of it; they will tell you, in the language of the ſpies whom Moſes ſent to inſpect the land of Canaan: They ſaid, "We came unto the land whither thou ſenteſt us,

and ſurely it floweth with milk and honey; and this is the fruit of it. The land we paſſed through to ſearch it is an exceeding good land." Nay, I am perfectly ſure, that the clearer information you get concerning it, the more you will be convinced that the land is fertile and deſirable; ſo that I may apply to this land what Moſes ſaid of Canaan, and underſtand his expreſſions in the fulleſt ſenſe: "For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that ſpring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive, and honey; a land wherein thou ſhall eat bread without ſcarceneſs, thou ſhall not lack any thing in it; a land whoſe ſtones are iron, and out of whoſe hills thou mayeſt dig braſs."

3. The continent of North America, now the property of Great Britain, is large: "I am come," as it is in the text, "to bring you into a good land and a large." Was it only ſome narrow province, though ever ſo good, the thought of going to it would yield little comfort to ſo great numbers as are here oppreſſed, becauſe it could bring relief but to a few: But as it is fruitful, it is alſo large, and almoſt unbounded, extending from the Britiſh ſettlements on the ſea-coaſt (which reach along the ſhore 2000 miles), weſtward to theſe immenſe rivers Miſſiſippi and Saint Laurence; a country large in a literal ſenſe, fifty or an hundred times as large as that which is ſpoken of in the text; a country which is able to accommodate twenty times as many people as are at this day in Scotland. Here, for many years paſt, it would almoſt ſeem there was not room for men of your laborious occupation; for whenever a farm was to be let, there were many of you in competition, juſtling againſt one another to get into it; and this practice many of you followed, till you ruined yourſelves by it. But there there can be no ſuch competition; the land is large,

and it is all before you. Though all of you, though many hundred thouſands ſhould go and dwell in it, there is ample room and accommodation for you. The land indeed, though fruitful and large, is uncultivated; there are trees to be grubbed out, and the ſoil is to be prepared for the plough. But you did not grudge to labour here, if you could have ſupported yourſelves by it; and there too you muſt lay your account with labouring aſſiduouſly, at leaſt for ſome years; but then the fruits of your labour will be your own; whereas here you "ſowed much, and brought in little" to yourſelves; you laboured, and your taſk-maſters reaped the fruits of it.

4. The land in view is cheap, and almoſt without taxations: Though it be "a good land and a large," yet if it were dear, if, as your taſk-maſters do here, the king was demanding 30 or 40 ſhillings for each acre of it, it would afford little relief to you in that ſevere oppreſſion under which you groan; but it is to be without price or purchaſe-money, freely and gratuitouſly made over to the induſtrious labourer, to be his property and heritage for ever; and only a quit rent of 3 or 4 ſhillings for each hundred acres of it to be paid to the king: A leſs rent for an hundred acres of rich ground which is your own for ever, than your preſent taſk-maſters demand for half an acre of bog or barren rock. Here, if any of your rank, after the fatigue of labour, chooſeth to amuſe himſelf with fiſhing, or fowling, or the chace, he is liable to all the penalties of a ſevere game-act; but there, you will be under no ſuch ſlaviſh reſtraint. In the woods of America, as there is plenty of game, ſo you may, as often as you pleaſe, amuſe yourſelves in catching it, without any danger of being robbed of your fowling-pieces, or proſecuted as poachers. Here, when one employs large fields in paſture, he depopulates the country, becauſe a few people only are needed to take care of the cattle; but there, if any of you have

a desire to see large flocks of his own feeding on rich and extensive pastures, he may, with profit to himself, and without detriment to the public, gratify that natural desire. As the Israelites did, "you will find fat pasture and good, and the land wide, and quiet, and peaceable." You may behold your flocks and herds grazing at their ease on green pastures, and may be innocently entertained with "the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen."

There are two things which render the high rent of land in this country more intolerable than it would be otherwise. One of them is, the high taxes which every person is obliged to pay to defray the expence of government, and to make good that enormous debt with which the ministry from time to time have loaded the nation. You can hardly conceive how great a proportion of the fruit of your labour every one of you pays yearly by the impositions that are laid on houses, windows, soap, salt, drink, candles, shoes, and every thing you need. The other thing is, the maintenance of the numerous poor, many of whom have been reduced to beggary by the rapacity of the landholders; and the burden of supporting them falls, as I have shown, upon the farmers and tradesmen. On account of these two things, the less rent should have been exacted; but these things have never been considered. The tenants have heavy taxes to pay to the public, and the landholders leave it to them to maintain the poor. But from both these grievances the inhabitants of America are almost totally exempted. The public taxes are a very trifle; and in the British settlements which have been already made there, there is scarce a single beggar to be seen, or indeed any who need to beg. The land is good, and it is cheap.

5. But farther: North America is a land of civil and religious liberty: Without this, though recommended by all the real advantages I have mentioned,

it would not be a desirable habitation for even an oppressed people. If despotic power prevailed in America, poor would be the encouragement derived from its mild climate, its rich pastures, and its fruitful plains: But in North America, liberty in the largest sense is established according to the generous principles of the law of England: The lives and property of even the poorest men are there secure. Here indeed you have little property, and what you have would be more secure, if, as in England, and according to the ancient law of Scotland, juries were used in all civil causes: And as you have felt the avarice of your great task-masters, the time shall ever come, when in criminal trials, especially when any of you is prosecuted by the rich or noble, you shall also feel their weight and influence to get jurymen appointed to try you, who are known to be prejudised against you, or to overawe these jurymen after they have been appointed: Then, if there be not room elsewhere, it will be high time for you to fly for your lives to England, though that glorious land of liberty should be ever so much crowded with inhabitants. But, by the providence of God, there is room for you where these same English laws, esteemed to be the perfection of human reason, are the very laws by which your lives and properties are to be judged, civil causes speedily and fairly determined by the help of a jury, and criminal trials by the unanimous verdict of an unbiassed jury, and the sentence of an enlightened, candid, and merciful judge.

Liberty, the natural right of mankind, and the glory of England, was restored and established by the great King William of immortal memory; it was farther secured by the happy accession of the illustrious George I. to the imperial crown of these kingdoms; and from the mother-country it is derived to its several colonies. The rights, the privileges, the laws of the mother-country and the colonies are the

ſame: Hence it is, that there as well as here no man's property, or perſonal freedom, or life, is at the arbitrary diſpoſal of any ſingle perſon or governor; he is ſubject only to the laws; he is to be judged by the laws alone: Hence it is, that by charters granted to the colonies by the crown, and ſome of them ſeveral times renewed, no man is to be taxed but with his own conſent, or the conſent of his repreſentative in a lawful aſſembly. It is by this liberty that the Britiſh colonies have ſo wonderfully flouriſhed; and our parliament is too wiſe not to ſee that the ſame liberty is neceſſary to encourage thoſe ſettlements which are yet to be made on ſuch an extenſive vacant territory. Without this, the preſent colonies would dwindle to ruin, and any new ſettlement would be cruſhed in its infancy. We have indeed, for ſome time paſt, been hearing a voice or cry from North America, that its liberties, ſolemnly ſecured by charters, are like to be infringed; that ſome wrong-headed ſtateſmen have been purſuing meaſures detrimental to the mother-country, and deſtructive to the colonies; and that it could not have been foreſeen, that ever the Britiſh miniſtry would be ſo ignorant or deſpotic as to think of ſuch ruinous laws with reſpect to America as in fact they have lately enacted. But that is no more but a temporary evil: When theſe ſtateſmen "come to themſelves," and their "underſtanding returns to them," they will ſee it to be juſt, and wiſe, and neceſſary, to alter and reverſe their meaſures, or the king will frown upon them, and command them to deſiſt. The voice is the voice of liberty; it is manly and loud; it ought to be heard; and it muſt prevail.

And as the natural advantages of North America are enhanced by the invaluable bleſſing of civil liberty, ſo religious liberty is alſo eſtabliſhed there. Perſecution is indeed a very dreadful thing, and as impolitical as it is dreadful and wicked. Every man

hath a right to worſhip God according to the light of his own conſcience; for the conſcience is God's, and in this reſpect he is ſubject to God alone. You, bleſſed be God, have from your youth been inſtructed in the true faith of Chriſt; and I hope there are many of you of whom religion hath taken ſo faſt a hold, that it can never be torn from you, for you count it dearer to you than your lives; and it is no wonder, for it hath been your conſolation under theſe great ſtraits and difficulties into which rapacious men have brought you. There is nothing that can diſturb you in the profeſſion and exerciſe of it in that good land which God in his providence hath prepared for your relief. That ſame religion which hath ſupported you in the time of your diſtreſs will be your delight in your more eaſy and proſperous days: It hath been your comfort under a train of unmerited hardſhips in this land; it will be your joy in that land where God ſhall have "turned your captivity," and bleſſed your latter end "more than your beginning."

When I am ſpeaking of religion, I find my heart warms in the hopeful proſpect of its advancement. I know, that ſome of you have juſt views of the goſpel, and a laudable zeal for the intereſt of Chriſt's kingdom. I think of the fulfilment of the promiſes of the faithful God, "That he will give his Son the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermoſt ends of the earth for a poſſeſſion; that all the ends of the earth ſhall remember, and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations ſhall worſhip before him; that the glorious Redeemer ſhall have dominion from ſea to ſea, and from the river to the ends of the earth; and that men ſhall fear the name of the Lord from the weſt, and his glory from the riſing ſun." I am hoping that you, driven by oppreſſion from this country, may be the means under God to enlarge the boundaries of the Mediator's kingdom. I cannot but

have some hope, that you, by settling in America, may be of great use to propagate the gospel among the poor Indians; a people plain, and uncorrupted by luxury or false refinement, and whom bad usage alone hath sometimes spurred on to acts of cruelty. If you have intercourse with them, and use them well, they will be your fast friends; and by means of that intercourse and friendship, you may be the happy instruments, in the hand of providence, of bringing them to embrace the faith of Christ. There have been attempts made to enlighten and convert that people; I will not say with what political views they were set on foot at home; and I am ashamed to speak or think of the temper and behaviour of those who have been sent abroad to execute them. Is it to be expected, that the wild Indians, who, like other men, have reason, and a sense of right and wrong; is it to be expected, that they will embrace a religion, when they see its professors to be openly debauched and profane, and find them to be, in their transactions, faithless, rapacious, and cruel? You do not know what great effect your sincere endeavours, joined with your good conversation, may produce. All that you have suffered may have been for good. God makes the wickedness of men subservient to the purposes of his adorable providence. Joseph's brethren sold him into Egypt; but "God sent him before them to save their lives by a great deliverance." Your being oppressed here makes you think of going elsewhere; and very probably your removing to North America may be a link in the great chain of providence for erecting the church of God in that part of the world, and to save the perishing souls of men by a great salvation. How joyful the thought! It may be that which is intended by the sounding of the seventh angel: "There were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; and he shall

reign for ever and ever. Sing then, O barren, thou that didſt not bear; break forth into ſinging, and cry aloud, thou that didſt not travail with child; for more are the children of the deſolate than the children of the married wife, ſaith the Lord. Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them ſtretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; ſpare not, lengthen thy cords, ſtrengthen thy ſtakes."—"The Lord ſhall be known in Egypt; Ethiopia ſhall ſtretch out her hands to God; the Gentiles ſhall come to his light, and the iſles ſhall wait for him."

When one conſiders the impiety, venality, and oppreſſion, that prevail in this country, and the little ſenſe men have of liberty and religion, he is tempted to think that we are on the eve of ſome mighty revolution. Alas! is it not to be feared, that God may be provoked to remove our candleſtick out of its place, and to give the goſpel to a people who will bring forth the fruits of it? or that religion is wearing to an end? But the church of Chriſt is founded upon a rock, and the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it; and it is ſome conſolation to think, that religion, ſo much deſpiſed in this country, may be eſteemed in North America, and practiſed by our countrymen and the Indians in that new world. If ſuch a glorious bleſſing ſhall be enlarged and ſpread abroad, in conſequence of your having been oppreſſed, you need not grudge at what you have ſuffered.

6. You may eſteem America to be the more deſirable a retreat from your oppreſſion, becauſe, in all probability, it will in a courſe of years become the ſeat of the Britiſh government. I will not here mention what hath been obſerved by hiſtorians, that the ſeat of empire hath, from the moſt ancient times, travelled from eaſt to weſt; nor will I ſay any thing about the great changes that have been made in the ſyſtem of Europe by the diſcovery and plantation of the weſtern world. Politicians have laid it down as

a certain maxim, that whatever European kingdom hath the property and poſſeſſion of North America, it muſt alſo, by its trade and the ſtrength of its navy, have the empire of the ſea, and bear the chief ſway in Europe: And I think it is not much leſs evident, that when a ſmall and a large country, ſuppoſed to be but equally good, are under the dominion of the ſame ſovereign, the greater, when once it comes to be ſufficiently peopled, muſt become the reſidence of the court, and the ſeat of the civil adminiſtration. Britain, though the ſouth part of it at leaſt is abundantly fertile, is of ſmall extent in compariſon of the large continent of North America; nor doth America yield to England in the fertility of its ſoil. So fine a country as North America will in time be peopled: By the number of induſtrious hands, its power and riches will increaſe; it will graſp at independency; it is doing ſo already; and to manage and direct the independent ſpirit, it may be found proper or neceſſary that the ſeat of government be eſtabliſhed there. Now, many oppreſſed people have already gone, and many of you are thinking to go there to be ſheltered from domeſtic oppreſſion. Now, many people go there to reſide for a time, with the view of making a fortune and returning to this country; but when America ſhall become the ſeat of government, the wealthy people will go there in ſwarms, as our nobility and gentry do now to England, and none will wiſh to return. Now, it is reckoned an advantage for a man to be born in Britain rather than in America; but the caſe will then be reverſed, and every man will value himſelf for being a native of America, and deſcended from anceſtors who had long ago ſettled there. But the particular event of which I ſpeak may poſſibly not take place for a conſiderable courſe of years, and therefore I lay little or no ſtreſs upon it. It remains, however, true, that God hath provided for you "a good land and a

large," a desirable retreat from all your present sufferings and oppression. I add, in the last place,

7. That this land, so good and so large, may be reached in a very short time. Was I speaking to you about rich fields in the eastern parts of Asia, this would avail you nothing; because, though they had all the advantages I have mentioned, it would take a very long time before you could reach them. But I speak to you of a good land, which, though it be distant, you may reach it in the space of four or five weeks, almost as soon as you could travel to the utmost part of this island. It was 40 years before the oppressed Israelites reached the promised land, and in much less than 40 days you may reach the peaceful shore of that good and large country which is prepared for you. Formerly, many people in the inland parts of this country were affrighted to travel by land to any distance, and still more to venture on a voyage at sea. Your forefathers, within these 150 years, did not go to the capital of Britain, or even that of Scotland, without having first made their wills. But among the many advantages we derive from commerce, this is one, that navigation is well understood, and safely practised. Our sea-faring people think nothing of making two or three voyages a-year to America. By the expertness in the art of sailing, men can, with great expedition and small expence, be safely transported from one country to another; and even our inland people become less and less afraid of a sea voyage. If you have still some reluctance to venture on the sea, I persuade myself, that the remembrance of your oppression, the feeling of your misery, the despair of bettering your circumstances in this country, and an honest indignation at your oppressors, will overcome that reluctance. You have experience of God's goodness in strengthening you to bear up under great severities and hard labour. While at sea, you will be still under his pro-

tection, and there you will behold his wonders, and be ſafe in the midſt of winds and ſtorms: For "they that go down to the ſea in ſhips, that do buſineſs in great waters, theſe ſee the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep; for he commandeth and raiſeth the ſtormy winds; their ſoul is melted becauſe of trouble; they reel to and fro, and are at their wits end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their diſtreſs. He maketh the ſtorm a calm, ſo that the waves thereof are ſtill. Then are they glad, becauſe they be quiet; ſo he bringeth them to their deſired haven." You have endeavoured to live by faith, and to ſerve God with ſincerity of heart. You have his promiſe, that he will be with you, and preſerve you in every danger: "Fear not," he ſays, "for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine. When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee: When thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt; neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee. Fear not, for I am with thee. I am the Lord, thy God, thy Saviour. I will bring thy ſeed from the eaſt, and gather thee from the weſt."

And as it requires but a few days to ſail from our ſhore to that of North America, ſo there is nothing that hinders you to embark for that country. Near a century and a half ago, when a headſtrong and ill-adviſed monarch was violating the property and infringing the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom, and ſome had gone, and great numbers of the beſt people were deſirous to tranſport themſelves to the then wilds of America, where they might enjoy liberty, they were prohibited by the tyrannical edicts of that obſtinate and unhappy monarch. Many oppreſſed people in different dominions and principalities of Germany, have been for ſome years paſt tranſporting themſelves in great ſhoals, to take refuge

in the vacant territories of America belonging to Britain: But theſe emigrations are now ſtrictly countermanded by theſe pitiful tyrants, and deſpotic German ſovereigns; but there is not the leaſt reaſon to apprehend that ſuch unnatural edicts will ever be iſſued out by our gracious ſovereign, or by the wiſdom of the Britiſh parliament. I will not ſay but that thoſe of your taſk-maſters who lately attempted to have the ports ſhut, when the people were ſtarving, may attempt ſo inhuman a thing. When they ſee great numbers of you leaving the country (which, I ſuppoſe, will and muſt be the caſe), they may at laſt come to underſtand, that in proportion as the country is depopulated, their incomes muſt be diminiſhed; and may ſtrive to get you impriſoned in this land, to tug like galley-ſlaves, not for your own, but their private advantage. But there is not the moſt diſtant ground to ſuſpect the poſſibility of their being liſtened to; nay, ſhould they ſtir in it, they would be hiſſed at and expoſed: For if ſuch a motion was made, the commercial part of the legiſlative body would abhor the cruel and ſelfiſh deſign of it, and cruſh it with contempt.

I have ſaid, that there neither is, nor can be, any hindrance in your way to fly from your preſent miſery, and that little time and ſmall expence is neceſſary for your paſſage: I tell you alſo, that you have no difficulties to grapple with after you have reached the American ſhore; you will be immediately put in poſſeſſion of a land that is good and large. The Iſraelites wandered forty years in the wilderneſs, and were in great difficulties, and forced to encounter with potent enemies in their way to Canaan; but God in his providence hath been kind to you: There is no hardened Pharaoh to keep you ſtill, no army to purſue you, to kill you, or fetch you back: You have no wilderneſs of Haran to diſcourage you; no fiery ſerpents to bite and devour you; no Og king of Ba-

ſhan, or Sihon king of Heſbon, to fight againſt you; no giants, or Horims, or Emims, or Zamzummims, to obſtruct your journey: Only, if a great number of you go over to the good land at once, it may be proper beforehand to appriſe the Britiſh miniſtry of your deſign, that ſo ſome prudent man may be appointed and ready to lay off the townſhips, and allot to every emigrant his particular poſſeſſion. They have been propoſing to accommodate the poor of England in America, and they will be equally diſpoſed to accommodate the induſtrious emigrants from this country.

I for my part ſee nothing which can retard your eſcape from wretchedneſs, except, on the one hand, your cauſeleſs fears, your indolence, or a baſeneſs of mind, ſtill willing to endure the ſcourge of oppreſſion; or, on the other hand, the artifices that will be uſed by your taſk-maſters. If, when God puts a price in your hand to get wiſdom, you have no heart to uſe it; if when, in his providence, he hath prepared an ample relief for you, and you will not take hold of it; there is no help for you; there appears even a neceſſity that you muſt continue miſerable. I aſk you, Do ye diſcern any other effectual method of relief but that which I have mentioned? You anſwer, No, by your diſmal looks. If then you have been aiming to go far from the ſcene of your oppreſſion; if, by childiſh fear, by ſloth, by baſe-mindedneſs, you are withheld from executing your purpoſe; if you return again, and put yourſelves in the power of your taſk-maſters, you may depend upon it they will take advantage of your weakneſs, and inſtead of whips chaſtiſe you with ſcorpions; ſo that, like the man into whom the unclean ſpirit returned, your laſt ſtate will be worſe than the firſt. But in that caſe, whatever be your ſufferings, you ought to be ſilent, and utter no complaint: Let them intoxicate and hoodwink you when they give you leaſes; let them ſeize on your crops without appreciation; let them drive your cat-

tle without form of law, pillage your houſes, roup your clothes, beat and impriſon your perſons, and turn your children out of doors naked and ſtarving—you ſhould never once be heard to complain. God hath ſtretched out his hand for your relief, and you did not regard him; he ſhowed you a wide and plain path to fly from miſery, and you would not enter into it. But perhaps there are not very many of you who by faint-heartedneſs will hinder your own deliverance, your eſcape from the unprofitable toil of making brick without ſtraw. I rather ſuſpect that the hindrance will ſpring from thoſe who will at laſt have their eyes opened to ſee that your departure muſt leſſen their unconſcionable revenues. Your taſk-maſters will, by themſelves and others, employ every artifice to detain you; they will, I foreſee, ſubborn a number of the cunningeſt of their tenants, promiſing them ſome abatement of their rent, (which promiſe however they will never fulfil) to diſcourage and alarm you. Theſe mean and officious ſubſtitutes will fawningly come up to you at church or market, and with deep deſign, but ſeeming concern for you, tell you of the dangers in croſſing the ſea, the accidents that may happen, the labour and difficulty of clearing the ground, the ſavageneſs of the Indians, and I know not what. They will tell you, that the landlord is ſorry upon your account, that he will give you an eaſier leaſe, and not exact intereſt again, if you pay not punctually at the term. I think I ſee the air of theſe low perſons, the buſtle they make to keep you in miſery, and hear the falſehoods they utter, to frighten and delude you; but you have underſtanding as well as they. Can you believe that thoſe who have hitherto uſed you with ſo much barbarity are all of a ſudden become concerned for your welfare? Do you not ſee, that it is not you they pity, but themſelves, when bereft of the produce of your toil? There may indeed be danger at ſea; but is that

danger greater to you than to other people? There may be accidents at ſea, but ſo may there be at land. You are to be in the way of your calling, and God hath promiſed, that "he will give his angels charge over you, to keep you in all your ways." The ground, no doubt, is to be cleared;—and the Indians, if you do not provoke them, will do you no harm. You will eaſily diſcern, that theſe under-agents of oppreſſion are either ſuch as are in arrears with the maſter, or he hath got them ſome other way in his clutches, or they expect ſome favour from him. Whatever they ſay or promiſe, act a prudent and a ſteady part. Be not afraid of vain terrors, nor depend on fallacious promiſes. They ſee now what they did not ſee before, and they are greedy to devour the fruits of your labour. Their caſe and yours is tolerably well repreſented in the fable of the crocodiles and dogs in Egypt: "The dogs, afraid of being ſwallowed up by the crocodiles, uſed to drink running: A crocodile in the river eſpying one of them in this timorous plight, ſaid to him, Come lap at your leiſure, be not afraid; come nearer, to a better place. So I would, replied the dog, if I did not know beforehand that you are fond of my fleſh." You have pitied and bemoaned the diſtreſs of one another; continue to be knit together in the bands of love; encourage one another to reſolution in purſuing the beſt ſcheme of being delivered from miſery. Say with the Jews returning to their country, "Flee out of the midſt of Babylon, and deliver every man his ſoul; be not cut off in her iniquity. We would have healed Babylon, but ſhe is not healed: Forſake her, and let us go every one into our own country. Remove out of the midſt of Babylon, and go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans." And you that have ſkill to lead and direct the reſt, "be as the goats before the flocks."—"Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans; with a voice of ſinging declare ye, tell this, utter it even

to the end of the earth: say ye, The Lord hath redeemed his servant Jacob."

The advantages of living in North America are great and many. The people there are under the auspicious government of George III. The land is good in its quality—large in its extent—cheap and gratuitously bestowed—civil and religious liberty flourish there—and the passage to it is unexpensive, and made in a few weeks. Such advantages might tempt almost any people to go and settle there, though they be under no oppression; but when a people are groaning under oppression, and see that such a land is in providence prepared for them, it becomes their duty to repair to it. And this I shall clearly show in what was proposed to be the last head of this discourse; which is,

6. That it is the duty of an afflicted people to pursue the means which providence offers for their deliverance. It is their duty, because it is just obeying the direction of Christ; "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." When the afflicted Israelites cried for relief, and had seen the wonders God did in Egypt, it was their duty to trust in God, and yield themselves to be conducted by him, though they saw but darkly by what particular method they were to be delivered; and those of them, who, upon the appearance of difficulties, murmured and said, "Let us make us a captain to return again into Egypt," sinned against God, and were punished accordingly. God wills our everlasting happiness, and also our present welfare: It is the duty of men to promote their own interest. I will not absolutely say, that it is the duty of those who are so much oppressed in this country to remove to the fertile and spacious fields of North America; but I do affirm, that it is their duty to examine carefully by what means they may be rescued from misery; and if, after all the inquiry they can make, they are convinced

that what I ſpeak of is the moſt ſafe, and ſpeedy, and effectual means of being delivered from oppreſſion, then, for aught I can ſee to the contrary, it becomes their duty to lay hold of it; it is the means which their beſt reaſon ſuggeſts; it is that which God himſelf points out to them: For his providence hath a language, a language which is oftentimes as intelligible as even a voice from heaven.

I will briefly mention a few plain reaſons, which ſhow it to be the duty of a people, in diſtreſs, or difficulties, to comply with the means which divine providence points out for their relief. And,

1. This is the duty of ſuch a people, as they would wiſh to preſerve their own lives. God gives them the bleſſing of life, and will they be at no pains to preſerve it? Will a wiſe man ſtay in a houſe when he ſees it on fire? Will not a ſailor, when the veſſel is ſhipwrecked, try to eſcape on a plank? Will one continue a Barbary ſlave, when he can ſafely make his eſcape? Or will one abide in the way of robbers, who are ten times ſtronger than he, when he hath a fair opportunity of running away? If any one acts in that ſort, he ſins againſt his own ſoul; he ſins againſt God, and breaks the ſixth commandment.

2. An oppreſſed people ſhould purſue the means which providence offers for their relief, upon account of their children. It is the duty of parents to provide for their children: But how can they provide for them in a land where they are kept in ſuch difficulties that they cannot provide for themſelves? There are ſeveral of you now ſitting before me, and your children ſtanding at your knees with rags on their backs, and the diſmal marks of hunger on their face: Let me aſk you, what will become of theſe poor children when you die? By reaſon of your taſkmaſters, you have been able to provide nothing for them; and they, alas! cannot yet ſupport themſelves. It is eaſy to ſee they muſt beg their bread; but that

would be nothing, were it not the vicious habits of idleneſs, lying, curſing, ſwearing, and pilfering, which they will contract by ſtrolling through the country. It is impoſſible for you not to be concerned about the dangers they run with reſpect to their character, their virtue, their happineſs in this life, and the ſtate of their immortal ſouls in the life to come. It is no wonder you wiſh to prevent all that danger; and if God puts it in your power, a concern for theſe children ſhould rouſe you to activity, that you may leave them in a hopeful way.

3. I think it is the duty of a number of you at leaſt, to repair to the good and large land which is ready to receive you, from compaſſion to thoſe whom you leave behind you. This is juſt doing what good Abraham did with reſpect to Lot. When there was a ſtrife between the herdſmen of Abram's cattle and the herdſmen of Lot's cattle, "Abram ſaid to Lot, Let there be no ſtrife, I pray thee, between me and thee, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyſelf, I pray thee, from me: If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." There hath been too much ſtrife among you about who ſhould poſſeſs this or that ſpot of ground. I do not expect, that compaſſion or regard to the welfare of your neighbours is to operate very high in this ſelfiſh age: But if many of you are diſtreſſed; if through the avarice of your taſk-maſters and your own weakneſs there is reaſon to believe that your diſtreſs muſt continue and increaſe whilſt you ſtay here; if you plainly diſcern, that whatever number ſhall incline to go may be very happy elſewhere, I think you need not grudge, I hope you will rather rejoice, that thoſe of your occupation, whom you leave behind you, ſhall be happier than they are at preſent, and rendered happier by your means; and I cannot help thinking but that this is your duty.

4. It appears to me, that it is your duty to withdraw yourſelves, out of pity to thoſe who have ſo cruelly oppreſſed you. Grievous and multiplied is the miſery which, by their rapacity, they have occaſioned; and dreadful is the account which they have to make. The aged men whom they have barbarouſly ejected—the widows whoſe poor houſes they have pillaged—the children whom by cold and hunger they have ſtarved to a premature death—and even the proſtitute inſtruments of their oppreſſion—will appear as witneſſes againſt them in the great day of God. You, at leaſt ſome of you, have by your folly been in ſome degree partners with them in their guilt, and you have had ſufficient cauſe to repent of that ſin and folly: But can you, even with the eyes of charity, diſcern any marks of repentance in them, any relenting or remorſe, any inclination to make reſtitution to thoſe whom they have ruined? Do they not, without being diſturbed, behold the diſmal ſight of naked orphans, whoſe parents they have impriſoned, and made to die in want? Do they not hear the rueful cries of deſolated families, and yet continue inexorable, and altogether impenitent? Some of you, exaſperated by oppreſſion, may be thinking it but juſt, that they who by rapacity have cauſed ſo much miſery to others, ſhould be rendered miſerable in their turn. But you ought to do every thing in your power to bring them, if poſſible, to repentance, and prevent their eternal damnation; and to this purpoſe, I can ſee nothing ſo effectual as your removing out of the country. Moſt of them are juſt as rapacious as they can find opportunity to be ſo; but then they will want the opportunity. By your withdrawing, you will take away occaſion from thoſe that deſire occaſion: The cruel and avaricious temper, a part of their natural corruption, ſtrengthened by long habit, may continue ſtrong for a long time; but wanting fuel to cheriſh it, or not being exerted as before, it may lan-

guiſh, and change at laſt to ſomething better. That God, who works wonders, may in time bring them to ſome degree of repentance, and to promote ſo wonderful and ſo good an end. There are many people in ſo deplorable circumſtances, that they have not even wherewithal to pay their paſſage: Theſe being left in this land, the ſight of them may at laſt ſmite the conſciences of thoſe who firſt ſtripped them of all their ſubſtance, and make them to be alarmed at the dreadful and eternal torments which await oppreſſors in the life to come.

5. You ought to purſue the beſt means which providence puts in your power to be delivered out of oppreſſion, from a regard to your own immortal ſouls: This is your great concern; and I appeal to yourſelves, that hitherto many of you have been very little concerned about it: And the cauſe you aſſign for this indolence is, your diſtreſſing circumſtances. When I aſk you, why you come not to church? you tell me, that you are ſo fatigued through the week, that you muſt have reſt on the Sunday: When in private I adviſe you not to ſleep in the church, you tell me again of your labour and toil: When I have meetings for catechiſing, ſome of you who attend diſcover an amazing ignorance of plain things concerning the faith and duties of Chriſtians; and I have reaſon to ſuſpect, that thoſe of you who do not attend are ſtill more ignorant. Still the excuſe you make is, that you are ſo occupied, not in providing or laying up ſomething for your families, but to anſwer the demands of your rigid taſk-maſters, that you have neither ability nor time to think of religion. If it be ſo (and with reſpect to many of you I know it is ſo), ſurely it is your duty to ſtrive to be in circumſtances more favourable for advancing the happineſs of your immortal ſouls: "What is a man profited," ſays our Saviour, "if he ſhould gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul?" And what a comfortleſs ſtate is

a man in here, who is gaining nothing at all, and in the greateſt danger of loſing his ſoul! Surely God Almighty never intended that any of his rational offſpring ſhould be all their lives in miſerable toil and drudgery, and gain nothing to themſelves, nor have any time to think of eternity. You ſhould therefore be alarmed, and ſtirred up to activity: You ſhould examine and inquire what is the beſt means that providence offers for your deliverance: You ſhould ſtrive to eſcape your preſent oppreſſion, that you may "eſcape the wrath that is to come."

Thus it appears to be the duty of an oppreſſed people to improve the means which providence offers for their deliverance. They ſhould act ſo, in obedience to the expreſs command of God, and the eternal law of ſelf-preſervation; from a regard to their children; from compaſſion to their fellow ſufferers; and to thoſe who oppreſs them; and a regard to their precious and immortal ſouls.

I have now finiſhed what I propoſed. I have ſhown, that the rate of land in this country is by far too high—have mentioned the cauſes and means by which it hath been ſcrewed up to ſuch a height—have ſhown what effects this high rate of lands doth and muſt produce—that it is the duty of an afflicted people to cry unto God—that as the Iſraelites were delivered out of Egypt by the arm of God, ſo the people who are oppreſſed in this land have, by divine providence, an effectual means of being delivered from the oppreſſion they groan under—and that it is the duty of an oppreſſed people to purſue the means which providence points out for their deliverance.

I am either deceived, or you have liſtened to me with rather more attention than you did to ſome of the diſcourſes which I formerly delivered to you. I ſhall be ſorry if this diſcourſe have no greater effect than moſt other ſermons. I will rejoice if it ſhall in

any degree be a means to check the progreſs of oppreſſion, to cheriſh the principles of humanity and juſtice, to contribute to your preſent comfort and relief, and the ſalvation of your ſouls.

I think I ſee ſome taſk-maſters at this unuſual ſermon beſides thoſe who were here in the forenoon. If the doctrine you have heard appears ſtrange, or if you think it worth your while, I ſhall be content that you repeat it to your friends who are engaged in the ſame meaſures with yourſelves; and though I have little hopes to prevail, I cannot reſtrain myſelf from ſaying a few things more to you: "Your treading is upon the poor, and you lay yourſelves down on clothes laid to pledge; for ye have turned judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteouſneſs into hemlock. Ye have ſold the righteous for ſilver, and the poor for a pair of ſhoes; ye pant after the duſt of the earth on the head of the poor. There is a fatal conſpiracy among you to uſe oppreſſion, to exerciſe robbery, to vex the poor and the needy, like wolves ravening the prey, to deſtroy ſouls, and get diſhoneſt gain." It is thus the ſpirit of God ſpeaks to you, and ſuch as you. In whatever view you conſider what you are doing, you have no cauſe to applaud yourſelves for your wiſdom or your virtue. If you conſider it as it muſt affect your temporal intereſt, and in a political view, why, you have, by your extortion, driven away a great number of uſeful hands, and it is almoſt certain, that incomparably greater numbers muſt ſoon follow them. If you conſider your meaſures in a moral view, you have over-reached the poor, you have taken advantage of their raſhneſs and folly, and you rigorouſly exact what you muſt know they are unable to pay. Without emotion, you ſee their deplorable circumſtances; without pity, you hear their lamentable cries, cries which might pierce a ſtone: But God is angry with you; and the time comes, when "the ſtone ſhall cry out

of the wall, and the beam out of the timber ſhall anſwer it," condemning your avarice and cruelty. If you conſider your practice as it affects your character while you are alive, and after your death; it blackens, it blaſts your reputation; it draws upon you the public odium, and the curſe of the poor; and your memory will ſtink, and be deteſtable when you are gone. If you conſider your extortion as it will (without repentance) affect you in another world —ah! I muſt ſtop ſhort—I tremble to ſpeak what I cannot but think. There ſeems to be a curſe on your diſhoneſt gain. I do not hear that many of you are grown richer by your high exactions; there are now as many of your eſtates at market as perhaps at any time paſt: "Ye have ſold the poor, and not enriched yourſelves by their price. What fruit then had you in thoſe things whereof you ſhould be aſhamed," and feel remorſe? and "the end of them is death." If you would act juſtly by your poor tenants, and your own poor ſouls, and prevent in ſome degree the deſolation of the country, there muſt be a ſpeedy and total alteration of your temper and practices; reject the counſel of your rapacious adviſers; exact no more of your tenants but what is reaſonable; abate at leaſt the third of all the leaſes you have let within theſe ſeven years paſt; cheriſh your tenants; inſtruct them; make immediate reparation to thoſe whom you have moſt grievouſly oppreſſed; reduce your expence in idle horſes, equipage, furniture, dreſs, and coſtly entertainments; in moſt of which articles, eſpecially in the laſt, you conſult no principle but your vanity. Your Saviour hath commanded, that when you make a feaſt, you ſhould call the poor, becauſe they cannot recompenſe you; but you reverſe his rule, and like chiefly to entertain thoſe who in return will entertain you as well as you have done them. It is certainly a more manly pleaſure to ſee your tenants living in tolerable eaſe, than to ſee a number

of perſons intoxicated at your tables, who, the moſt of them at leaſt, even whilſt they are ſober, cannot ſay a ſingle word either to inſtruct your mind or improve your heart. Acquaint yourſelves with the nature and value of your eſtates, and the induſtry and circumſtances of your tenants: "Be thou diligent," ſays Solomon, "to know the ſtate of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds." It is a pity that many great landholders know nothing of their affairs but by the report of their factors or ſtewards. Theſe are the chief nuiſance of this oppreſſed country; theſe are the men who commit ſuch acts of cruelty as, from what I know of the humanity of at leaſt ſome of you, you would never allow, did you ſee them or know of them; theſe are a generation of men, who in every age have been taſk-maſters to the tenants, have defrauded the maſters, and oftentimes wormed them out, and perfidiouſly obtained the eſtates to themſelves; and I doubt not but there are many of them who now appear fierce for your intereſt, who are cunningly undermining you, and will, in a courſe of years, be the abſolute proprietors of thoſe very eſtates where now they ſerve as factors. "Woe to thee, O land," it is ſaid, "when thy king is a child!" and woe alſo to that eſtate, woe to thoſe poor tenants, whoſe maſter knows nothing of their condition, but by the report of a baſe-minded, cunning, and rapacious factor! That eſtate will change its maſter, and the tenants be ruined or forced to remove. I have ſaid more than perhaps you will thank me for; but I have ſaid it from a ſincere regard to your preſent intereſt and your future happineſs.

I will alſo offer a few further directions to you whom I behold in ſuch dejection and miſery before me.—And let me ſtill urge you to awake from that ſtupor which is occaſioned by oppreſſion, to mind religion and the intereſt of your immortal ſouls. However heavy and continued your affliction is, it ought

to seem to you light, and for a moment, if it work for you a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. Amidst your present deliberations, apply to God, and he will direct you what steps you ought to take. You are in great hardships at present; you see relief; consider how wise men should act. I know several of you, who, notwithstanding all that you have yet suffered, are not destitute of knowledge, and who have your minds surprisingly enlarged, in comparison of your betters, who waste their time in an insipid round of eating, and drinking, and gaming, and sleeping, and poring on schemes of oppression. You can lay together and weigh the importance of those motives which ought to influence and determine reasonable men; and, in truth, the wisdom and spirit of a man are never so conspicuous as when it appears that he hath sense and resolution to extricate himself out of difficulties into which he hath been brought by his own folly or the wickedness of others. Will you suffer yourselves to be terrified, and hoodwinked, and imposed upon by those who in fact have less understanding than yourselves? What is there to alarm you in a sea-voyage? or what should scare you to live in a distant part of the world? At sea, and on any part of the earth, you are still in the paternal arms of that God who hath preserved you in soundness of body and mind under that mercileſs treatment you have met with. God offers ease and happiness to man; but man can have no happiness without exerting his activity, and pursuing the means which indulgent providence puts in his power: And can I doubt that many of you, nobly determined by a prudent concern for your ease, for your souls, for your children, will fly from oppression, and listen to the calls of a merciful God?

But I see a number of you before me who are bended down with years, who have grown grey-headed under oppression, and have provided nothing for

old age; all the profit of your fore labour hath been seized upon by your covetous and cruel task-masters. Alas! you cannot go away; you cannot even have the consolation which Moses had, of seeing at a distance the good and large land which God is giving to your children; you must leave your bones in this land, to be trampled upon by those who have trampled upon you whilst you were in the vigour of life. And though you meet with no mercy or relief from your cruel oppressors, you will, while in life, be pitied and relieved by those of your own station who are not yet totally reduced to want. But I think I hear such old men saying, as Barzillai did to David, "I am fourscore years old, how long have I to live? Why should I pass over this Jordan? Let me die here, and be buried by the grave of my father; but let my son pass over," and not be oppressed as I have been.

I see another class of you before me, whom, by the rigour and continuance of your slavery, I suspect to be more timid than old age itself: You have suffered a miserable bondage and slavery, and seem at last to have no horror at slavery. When you see a method of being asserted into liberty, you are intimidated with vain fears, and think there is a lion in the way. You, I suspect, are determined to stay still, let your task-masters squeeze, and scourge, and beat you as they please. I know not what to say to you. Let me give you a single advice. Be not hasty to get into farms; maintain yourselves by service, or some other way, for a while; look about you for two or three years. There hath been a competition on the side of the farmers alone for many years past: If you wait some years, there will be a competition on the side of the landholders; eager to get tenants, they will strive which of them shall let their land cheapest; and thus, by standing off a while, you will bring them to reason. There are many of you now before me, who, if you had got this advice seven years ago, and pur-

ſued it, would, I am ſure, have been in better circumſtances at preſent, and not have ſeen your families in miſery, nor felt that diſtreſs which you now feel. In one word, be ſure to love your oppreſſors. This you ſay is difficult, as there is nothing amiable in their temper or practice, and almoſt every thing that is odious and rebuting. I confeſs the duty is difficult, but ſtill it is duty. You ought ſurely to forgive, to pity, to pray for them. Pray to God, that he may enlighten their great darkneſs, and create remorſe in their hardened ſouls; that he may give them contrition, bring them to repentance and to make reſtitution. Pray that he may open their eyes, "that they may ſee that they themſelves are beaſts;" if peradventure "the thoughts of their hearts," and the cruel actions of their lives, "may be forgiven them." Pray God that he may give all of you underſtanding in all things, and that wiſdom which is profitable to direct.

I have ſpoken from principle, from abhorrence of rapacity, and from pity to the miſerable. The ſubject is uncommon. I know of none who preached in this ſtrain, except the patron and ornament of Ireland, whom I ſhould not dare to name, becauſe I can never hope to imitate him, except in a tender concern for your wretched conditions. But though the ſubject be new, it is copious; and I aſſure you, I know ſome of my brethren who mourn over you in ſecret, and who are able and ready to ſet thoſe points which I have firſt publicly inſiſted on in a clear and ſtriking light. Who can withhold himſelf from lamenting the impiety and afflicted ſtate of his country? "In thee, O land, there is a fatal forgetfulneſs of God; in thee have they ſet light by father and mother; in the midſt of thee have they dealt by oppreſſion; in thee have they vexed the fatherleſs and the widow. Thy princes in the midſt of thee have hid their eyes from God's Sabbath; they have taken

the treaſure and the precious things, and have made many widows in the midſt of thee; like wolves ravening the prey, they have devoured ſouls. The people of the land have uſed oppreſſion, they have exerciſed robbery, and have vexed the poor and the needy." It is indeed very likely that ſome of you will blame me, becauſe I have told you the truth. You will cry out, that I have departed from the uſual track of ſermons; that I ſhould have preached on faith and repentance; that I have not a thorough underſtanding of my ſubject; that I meddle with things that are above me; and that I am not a friend to my country. And was I to publiſh this ſermon, thoſe who feel themſelves pinched by its doctrine may hire ſome abject and proſtitute ſcribbler to varniſh over their oppreſſion with ſpecious colours; that it is to baniſh ſloth and promote induſtry that they rack their rents; that there are yet many tenants in a thriving condition; that the diſtreſs complained of is but temporary, and will, in this trading country, ſoon work itſelf off; and that thoſe who have left the country, or are intending to leave it, are the lazieſt, the moſt vicious and fooliſh of the people. I think every miniſter of Chriſt hath a right to preach againſt the ſins of the poor and of the rich, "and to make his face ſtrong againſt their faces, without being afraid or diſmayed at their looks;" and that he only who conſcientiouſly "warns the wicked," without fear of man's judgment, or ſeeking "to pleaſe men," diſcharges his duty. Sloth is certainly a bad thing; but oppreſſion, inſtead of removing, tends directly to ſtrengthen the diſeaſe. There is no appearance that the diſtreſs of farmers is coming to an end; and if it was, who is obliged to ſuffer it for an hour, when he can get away from it? I am glad that ſome tenants thrive; and it is well if thoſe who talk about their thriving are not ſorry that it is ſo well with them. He, I think, is a friend to his country who preaches

againſt thoſe vices which tend directly to its ruin. I have not the leaſt doubt, but that thoſe oppreſſed farmers to whom God hath given wiſdom and ſpirit to fly from oppreſſion, will be chriſtened with the vileſt names which the malice and diſappointed avarice of their cruel taſk-maſters can invent. In a word, this ſermon is actually on faith and repentance. I have, with all the earneſtneſs I could, called upon the poor to be honeſt, and on oppreſſors to repent of their rapacity, and to make reſtitution to thoſe whom they have ruined. Whatever opinion theſe laſt may form of me, I would do every thing in my power to reclaim them, even though I ſhould give them ſome preſent pain. I wiſh ſome man of ſenſe and candour would give us the particular hiſtory of a few of them, drawn up to the life, and without any exaggeration: The picture would have ſhades, but it might be uſeful. If ſuch a glaſs were held up to them, it might have a better effect than many ſermons, eſpecially as (having turned their backs to the temple of God) few of them are at pains to hear ſermons. If, in point of facts, I have committed any material miſtakes, I ſhall be content to be ſet right. If I have uſed any expreſſion that appears indecent, or too ſtrong, I am not ſenſible of it: But I think it did not become me: I found it was impoſſible for me to ſpeak about extortion, miſery, nakedneſs, hunger, ſtarving, and the deſolation of my country, with that coolneſs which might become a ſpeculative politician. Your good ſenſe, and the diligence of my brethren, will, I hope, ſuperſede the neceſſity of my preaching again wholly in this manner. I conclude, as uſual, with leading back your thoughts to ſpiritual things and the eternal world. I beſeech you to live by faith, and to work out your own ſalvation. Apply to God through Chriſt, and he will aid you with his grace. He is not, bleſſed be his glorious name, he is not like the taſk-maſters of this world: He ſends no man a war-

fare at his own charges; he bids no man make brick without ſtraw. If he requires duty, he, by his holy ſpirit, aſſiſts and enables men to perform the work. I recommend you to the grace and direction of that God who "comes down to deliver his people;" who brings "the blind by a way they know not; who leads them in paths that they have not known; who makes darkneſs light before them, and crooked things ſtraight."

Now, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlaſting conſolation and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and ſtabliſh you in every good word and work. Amen.

PART II.

LETTERS, TRACTS, &c.

LETTER

From Pr–f–r ——— to H—— M——, Esq. Airshire,

EXPLAINING THE

MOTIVES

Which have determined the University of Glasgow to desert the Blackfriar Church and betake themselves to a Chapel.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

And now the Chapel's Silver Bell you hear,
That summons you to all the pride of prayer:
The pitch-pipe Music, broken and uneven,
Makes the soul dance upon a jig to Heaven.

POPE.

My Dear Sir,

SOME time ago, Mr. ———, who is a very diligent lad, told me you were to write me; and last week I was favoured with your much esteemed Letter, wherein you earnestly desire me to inform you concerning the motives which have determined us to withdraw from the Blackfriar Church, and to erect a Chapel for ourselves. You write in so very pressing a manner, that, though I were averse to the thing, I should not know how to give you a refusal. But in truth I am exceeding glad that there is any thing whereby I can oblige you; for, ever since you put

your ſon to both my claſſes, I have held you in great eſteem; and I beg leave to tell you, that when I reached out my hand to you, I ſcarce expected ſo large a *honorarium* as you generouſly gave me. My heart warms whenever I think of you; and many times when we meet in faculty, we lament and regret deeply, that ſo few who ſend their children to our College have your liberal and gentlemanny turn of mind. You, Sir, know the value of ancient and ſolid literature, and have the heart to encourage thoſe who inſtil it into the minds of our North-Britiſh youth.

Though I did not ſit down to write this letter immediately after I had yours, yet I have been thinking every day upon the anſwer I was to give you; not that I intend to diſguiſe or conceal from you any of our real motives, (for there is no need of that) but I deliberated a little in what language I ſhould write to you; and have ſtudied to write in ſuch ſtyle and method as may beſt convey my meaning, and be moſt entertaining to you.

I will therefore endeavour to gratify your curioſity with reſpect to the real motives which influenced us to withdraw from the Blackfriar's, and betake ourſelves to a chapel of our own. Every new thing, or departure from any old cuſtom, is at firſt wondered at; and as our reſolution, with reſpect to a chapel, is new, I find it occaſions ſome ſpeculation; for ſeveral others have been aſking me our reaſons for it, but I had not the ſame reaſon to oblige them as I have to oblige you.

I frankly acknowledge, that diſtance from the church, or want of room in it, the reaſons commonly aſſigned for any new erection, do not take place here. Our college, you know, is juſt contiguous to the Blackfriar's; a fifth part of that church is our own property; and we have not, theſe ſixty years, had as many ſcholars, in any one year, as occupied one-half of our room; ſo that we have been in uſe to ſet a

great many ſeats to the citizens, and have made a little money that way. And yet we have been determined to take this new ſtep by reaſons very cogent and ſubſtantial.

1. One reaſon of our being deſirous to have a chapel, is, that we may thereby be reſcued from that uneaſineſs, and even diſgrace, under which we have hitherto laboured. To intermix with the mob in a church is diſgracefully bringing ourſelves to be, in ſome ſort, on a level with them; it creates in people a belief that we need, and ought to be in earneſt to receive the ſame inſtruction they are gaping for; a belief which, though we are at all proper pains to guard againſt, yet it ſtill remains in ſome weak minds. And whether we ſtrive to drive out that notional belief, by a ſmiling cheerfulneſs of behaviour during the ſervice, or by ſleeping, or by ſtaying away from church, ſtill we are ſufferers; for either we go to church a-Sundays, or we ſtay at home; if we go, we either give attention, or we laugh, or we fall aſleep: If we give, or ſeem to give attention, the people imagine we are as ignorant and ſuperſtitious as they are; and beſides, we weary ourſelves, and hurt our own temper: If we laugh, we offend the congregation; they call it a contemptuous laugh, a haughty diſdain of the miniſter, and a manifeſt ſneering at the orthodoxy of his doctrine: If we ſleep, we offend them alſo, and beſides give no marks of our ſuperiority; for ſleeping in church is a vulgar thing, practiſed by the very beggars and burn-bearers. Again, if we ſtay away from church, we muſt either ride in the fields, or walk in the college-garden, or ſtay in our rooms: If we ride abroad, the people who know and obſerve us imagine we are profane; if we walk in the college-garden, they make the ſame concluſion; if we ſtay in our rooms, we muſt either read plays or our own ſyſtems; if our ſervants catch us reading plays, they whiſper to every body that we are graceleſs; if we read our

own ſyſtems, we very ſoon fall aſleep upon them, and this prevents or mars our ſleeping ſound in the night-time. Therefore we judged it proper to deliver ourſelves at once from all theſe hardſhips, by building ourſelves a chapel. The ſuperſtitious part of the town will not know whether we attend it or not; and if ſome of us ſhould happen to ſmile or ſleep in the chapel, thoſe who are preſent will have more ſenſe than to blame us.

2. Another reaſon for this chapel is, that it will be a mark of our independency. It is not becoming our ſociety, that we ſhould have no place of worſhip but in one of the town-churches: This creates an imagination that we are inferior to and dependent on the city; and in this there is nothing of the το Καλον or the το Πρεπον. It is unſuitable to the dignity of philoſophy, or its profeſſors, to ſtoop, or ſeem to ſtoop, to burgeſſes or mercantile people; it is far more proper that they ſhould be in appearance what they are in reality, quite above all other profeſſions or ranks of men. Every one of us ſhould aim, like Glaucus or Agamemnon in Homer,

Αιεν αριστευειν και υπειροχος εμμεναι αλλων;

or, as Pope tranſlates it,

——————————to win renown,
To ſtand the firſt in honour and command.

Or, as Cicero hath it, "O vitæ philoſophia dux, tu inventrix legum, tu magiſtra morum et diſciplinæ fuiſti;" for, as Seneca ſays, "Nunquam in tantum convalceſcet nequitia, nunquam ſic contra virtutes conjurabitur, ut non philoſophiæ nomen venerabile et ſacrum maneat." It is much more proper that ſome of the citizens of Glaſgow ſhould reſort to a church of ours, than that we ſhould meanly trudge to a church of theirs. The beſt of them may get ſolid inſtruction from us, and we can expect none from them.

3. The above reaſons weighed much with us, as did that which I tell you next. We foreſaw that a new beautiful chapel would add much to our dignity. Fifty years ago we were but in low eſtimation; there might be now and then a profeſſor, who, upon account of merit and perſonal dignity, was confeſſedly above moſt clergymen; but in truth, Sir, we were generally looked upon as in a middle rank between pariſh miniſters and country ſchoolmaſters; and, at that time, no miniſter in town, and ſcarce one in the country, would have choſen to throw up his charge for the ſake of one of our profeſſorſhips. On the contrary, when any young man had taught a courſe in our college, he was, at his earneſt deſire, advanced to be miniſter of ſome country pariſh, if he ſeemed to deſerve it. But luckily for us things are now altered. We have found means to increaſe our incomes in ſome proportion to the riſing expence of living; and the clergy have not been able to find any means of increaſing theirs. Senſible of this ſuperiority, thoſe of us who have been miniſters chooſe not to preach in any pariſh-church, or pray in any private family, becauſe that would derogate from our dignity; and though ſuch made no figure, but were rather overlooked and deſpiſed while clergymen, becauſe people could not ſee our concealed worth, nor diſcern our hidden learning, yet whenever we become profeſſors, we are immediately more reſpectable, and are eſteemed more learned than any clergyman whatſoever. This happens from the increaſe of our private incomes. But the college revenues being alſo great and well collected, our predeceſſors built themſelves large and ſplendid houſes, and ever afterwards we roſe in rank and dignity. People ſee in what fine lodgings we dwell, and pay us reſpect in proportion. Now, we reckon that if our chapel were once built, it will add to our dignity, and that we ſhall become ſtill more reſpectable. A philoſopher, or learned man, is in-

deed complete in himself, in the conscious sense of his own merit: "Totus in seipso teres atque rotundus," as Horatius says: But yet in this age respect is also something; one likes to see himself taken notice of by those in upper life, and to be bowed to and admired by the vulgar; for "pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicier hic est." But this empty respect is not the thing which we chiefly or solely aim at; along with that respect we want to have a little money, because, in our times, it is money chiefly which renders even philosophers respectable. We come up to the ancients in our teaching, and, like them, recommend poverty: "Honesta res est læta paupertas." We are forced, however, to depart a little from their temper, and to study by what lawful means we may get something into our possession; and luckily we have found that our houses have stood us in good stead; for when gentlemen come to enter their children to our college, they see in what splendour we live, and are ashamed to stint themselves to the usual pitiful *honorariums*: Some of them, at least, have sense to observe, that such lodgings and such furniture demand much higher pay than the small *minimum* which we exact. Besides, by the largeness of our houses, each of us is able to keep a great number of boarders, which we find to be a very profitable branch of business. We have raised the board-wages to a reasonable height; and, besides these wages, we expect, and gentlemen who have children with us are in use to send us very valuable compliments. Now, we expect that our chapel will procure us more respect, and great profit also, as I shall tell you more fully, when I shall have first acquainted you with some other reasons we had to be desirous of a separate chapel.

4. And I will not conceal from you, that the religion of Glasgow, and particularly that which is preached in the church where we attend, is not much to our taste. Charles II. used to say of presbytery in

general, that it was not a religion for gentlemen; and I may well aver, that preſbytery, as we have it, is not a religion for either gentlemen or philoſophers. All the maſters, and the bulk of the ſtudents, for many years paſt, had become quite wearied and diſguſted to hear in the church where we have our ſeats. The miniſter, though eſteemed a man of learning, taſte, and primitive ſimplicity, is often inſiſting upon the depravity of human nature, and the neceſſity of revelation. He ſeems to maintain, that philoſophy is not ſufficient to render men virtuous and happy: He ſays it is abſolutely neceſſary to believe the goſpel; and that without this all the ſyſtems and precepts of philoſophy are feeble, and will in the iſſue prove ineffectual. He even deſcribes, modeſtly indeed, but in a pictureſque enough ſtyle, ſome practices, ſuch as drunkenneſs, ſwearing, wenching, avarice, oppreſſion, which he calls ſinful, and inconſiſtent with having true religion: And while he is doing this, it often happens, that moſt of the ſtudents, and many of the congregation, gaze at us, as if we were the perſons pointed out as guilty; and we are ſtill more keenly gazed at when he deſcribes the duties of Chriſtians, Sabbath-keeping, family-worſhip, juſtice, veracity, temperance, chaſtity, and what ſhould be the converſation of thoſe who are entruſted with the education of youth. All this, you will agree with me, is vexatious, and even unſufferable. We have, whatever may be ſaid of us, a real, though a general, and philoſophical religion; and had we a chapel, where ſuch of us as have been clergymen are to preach by turns, we will have diſcourſes upon the dignity of human nature, upon diſintereſted benevolence, upon ſympathy and propriety, upon living according to nature, and upon virtue's being a ſufficient reward to itſelf. When any of ourſelves takes the pulpit, he will have more ſenſe and delicacy than to deliver any offenſive deſcriptions; and when any young man preaches, he

will be cautious, and ſcarce venture on any thing that is like to diſoblige any of us. I like beautiful and oratorial diſcourſes upon general topics; I hate ſuch as minutely deſcend to particulars; there is a tireſome and diſguſting littleneſs in them. And what ſignifies it to irritate a learned man for any freedoms he is ſuppoſed to have taken? I never knew that ſuch diſcourſes produced any other effect, but the contrary to that which the preacher intended.

It is a fixed maxim among us, that "That is always the beſt religion which takes the ſlighteſt hold of the heart, and the ſlighter the better." And though, with reſpect to the intention of the ſpeaker, it is a very different religion which we have been hearing, we have, however, had the firmneſs to remain hitherto untouched and uncorrupted by it; and, though I ſay it, it is a great truth, and no vain boaſt, that it will be difficult to find as many wiſe and good men, in ſo narrow a place, upon whom the vulgar and ſuperſtitious religion of the country hath taken ſo little hold. We owe this firm and fearleſs temper to philoſophy, and the knowledge we have of the cauſes of things; for,

> Fœlix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas,
> Atque metus omnes et inſuperabile fatum,
> Subjecit pedibus ſtrepitumque Acherontis avari.

Or, in Cicero's words, "O philoſophia, ad te confugimus, tu vitæ tranquillitatem nobis es largita, et terrorem mortis ſuſtuliſti."

5. But what farther increaſes our fondneſs to have a chapel for ourſelves is a very idle and ſenſeleſs opinion that almoſt univerſally prevails at Glaſgow. They imagine that we are to be as ſtrict in our life and converſation as ordinary people, and that if we take a little liberty like gentlemen, we are to be called to an account for it like weavers. This you will think very ſtrange, or quite incredible; and yet the ſilly people are all in theſe ſentiments, and even keen

in them. If one of us hath been cheerful over night, at a bottle with a few gentlemen, or officers of the army; or if he hath forgot his philoſophy for a moment, and indulged himſelf a little in the way of natural pleaſure, there is firſt a whiſper, then a loud cry is raiſed againſt him; he is pointed at on the ſtreets, the houſe he was cheerful in is examined, the girl he converſed with is ſought for to accuſe him, kirk-officers are hounded out upon him, ſome miniſter or elder *travels* with him to bring him to a confeſſion, he is called to compear before ſome of their kirk-ſeſſions; and it is believed his ſin or ſcandal, as they call it, cannot be taken away till he ſhall have done penance in ſome of their churches: And I do aſſure you, that not long ago ſome amongſt us eſcaped very narrowly. Now, Sir, conſider what a hardſhip it is on a learned man to compear in a pitiful ſeſſion, and confeſs that to be a ſin which he knows to be no ſin; or to compear publicly in a church, and give ſigns of repentance for what he firmly believes need not be repented of, and what he is reſolved to repeat whenever he finds himſelf urged by the calls of nature: What an impropriety, nay, what an indignity is it, that a philoſopher ſhould ſtand, as a delinquent, before a congregation of taylors, ſhoe-makers, barbers, and ſhop-keepers, and appear to be juſt as much a natural man, to have juſt the ſame paſſions, and juſt as little philoſophy to guide him, as any of them, or any porter or ſcavenger who happens to be preſent. Conſider farther, how grievous it is that he ſhould be ſtanding in a low and diſgraceful place, or on the ſtool itſelf, and nothing but a common miniſter reviling him from above, inſtructing him about the το ηγεμονικον, the command of paſſion which he hath often talked about, admoniſhing him to believe what he has always rejected, and rebuking him for the foulneſs of the ſuppoſed crime which he is ſuppoſed to have graceleſsly committed. If you conſider how grievous

all this muſt be to a great mind, how vexatious to be thus affrighted, and to be in perpetual fright; how unſufferable to be abuſed by a low perſon, before an aſſembly of low and contemptible people; you certainly muſt ſee the wiſdom of withdrawing, and ſecuring ourſelves from ſuch inſolent and ignoble uſage. We conduct ourſelves like philoſophers, and are determined to follow nature, *vivere ſecundam naturam.* We are men of genius; the king has ſingled us out from among all the learned men in Scotland, to be regents and profeſſors; and from the eminence on which we ſtand, we perfectly diſcern the littleneſs and folly of the vulgar.

> Spiritum Graiæ tenuem Camœnæ,
> Parca non mendæ dedit, et malignum
> Spernere vulgus.

As we move in the regions of philoſophy, we want to have elbow-room: We gain our money as we can, and chooſe to ſpend it as we pleaſe; we chooſe to enjoy that freedom, and partake of thoſe pleaſures which nature offers, and philoſophy allows. In this philoſophic temper we mean no harm, but good to every man; no hurt, but pleaſure to any woman. If philoſophy hath not yet made us quite perfect, we have however but few and very ſlender faults; *mediocribus et queis ignoſcas vitiis:* And if we now and then make ſome ſlight deviations from the dull routine of life, muſt we be judged, be diſciplined, be penanced as the vileſt of the people are? This is a treatment not to be borne, not to be ſubmitted to by free minds. No nobleman, no gentleman of rank or fortune in the country, no wealthy merchant in the city, who happens to be a delinquent, though he ſhould be in fifty relapſes, is ever called to any account, even in pariſhes where the miniſters are the ſtricteſt and moſt zealous in Scotland. And muſt we be hunted down for one or two ſlight offences, while others are freely permitted to range about at large? If our clergy had

civility, they would not trouble us; but ſince they have ſuch delight in that kind of work, they ought, (which I muſt confeſs they commonly do) they ought to ſatisfy themſelves with moleſting the poorer ſort of tradeſmen and country people who are ſooner frightened, and more tame under the laſh of their diſcipline than we chooſe to be.

Though I may ſeem keen againſt kirk-proſecutions, I aſſure you that the greateſt part of us are ſober, cool, and mortified perſons, in no danger of ſpending our money at a tavern, or being any ways miſled by that other paſſion which ſubjects to ſcandal. In this reſpect we are perfectly and conſtitutionally chaſte: We are really as innocent and harmleſs as any in the world; and of this our wives can give ample teſtimony. But if there be two or three of a more briſk and lively turn, it is our buſineſs to protect them, and not ſuffer ourſelves to be maltreated by kirk-ſeſſions or miniſters, who are ſo low perſons in compariſon of us. And if once we had a ſeparate chapel, it will be natural for us, upon any aberration, (for *Diaboli virtus eſt in lumbis*) to do public penance there, if that is judged neceſſary to ſopite the cry that may have been raiſed in town. This indeed will ſtill be a hardſhip; but it will be milder than otherwiſe; it will be making compearance in a houſe of our own, and where ourſelves are the principal perſons. The offender, who has unfortunately been detected, will be admoniſhed by one of ourſelves, by one of his brethren philoſophers, who will be very gentle to him, both from a philoſophical perſuaſion that the thing he ſtands for is no crime, and probably alſo from a remembrance that he himſelf hath often fallen into the like ſlips, and foreſeeing that he may ſoon, if detected, have occaſion to compear in the ſame place, and be rebuked by the ſame gentleman he is now rebuking. Beſides, he will be rebuked before a number of frank, blithe, and polite people, who have many

of them made such harmless slides, and can make candid allowances for them in others. The gentleness shown to delinquents in our chapel will appear amiable; other ministers and congregations will follow our example; and a great alteration in opinion about scandalous matters will, as we hope, be insensibly brought about.

6. For we have a most extensive and generous aim to be effectuated by means of our chapel: We want by degrees to controul the public opinion with respect to scandal; we want to divert the resentment which men have against the matters for which penance is now done, and to turn it against those things which really deserve censure. What is it for which men ought to be rebuked? It is ignorance and contempt of philosophy, depreciating logic, metaphysics, and moral theories, slighting of learned men, putting them off with niggardly payments, seeking money from them, complaining of their rigour in exacting their teinds, or laying them under abominable restraints. The faults for which men appear before a congregation are really no faults at all; instead of being rebuked they should be commended for them. When a man is at a bottle over night, and happens to be overtaken a little, and is put in good humour, he is but acting the social part; he obeys the dictates of philosophy: If he should reel and stumble on the street, he can rise again; if in a cheerful mood he breaks a few windows, he can pay the damage. Why need he be rebuked? Marriage is expensive, and not always convenient: A philosopher who casts his eyes on a personable girl, and takes her aside, does her a kind thing, and raises up a child who may be useful to the public. These are all or most of the things that are commonly censured. A philosopher discerns, with one glance of his eye, that none of them merits censure, nor ought to be censured. It is the business of philosophers, and it is left to them to

ſet the opinions of men to rights. We intend to diſpel the miſt of ignorance from the minds of our countrymen, to break the ſhackles of prejudice, and open to them a broad and ſpacious way wherein they may walk with eaſe and freedom. This I am ſure you will admit is a glorious attempt; and in purſuit of it we expect to render ourſelves as illuſtrious as the immortal Grecian philoſopher.

Primum Graius homo, mortales tendere contra
Eſt oculos auſus, primuſque obſiſtere contra.
——Deus ille fuit, Deus, inclyte Memmi.

If we can bring about ſo deſirable a revolution of opinions and ſentiments, we will do the public an important ſervice, a ſervice which it is worth while to contend for; and though we had no other advantage in view, it would be noble, and like the ancients, to be at the expence of a chapel to gain ſo good an end.

7. But I have left our ſtrongeſt reaſon for a chapel to be mentioned laſt; and in plain Engliſh it is this, we expect to make a great deal of profit by it. We might be content to be without reſpect, and to be even more vile than we are at preſent; we might ſuffer public penance, and to be inſtructed and admoniſhed by one who is poorer and much more ignorant than we are, if any of theſe were ſure means to be enriched. To be little thought of is indeed ill enough, but it takes nothing out of one's pocket; and words, though ſevere and reproachful, are ſtill but words, and will not break one's head, nor empty his coffers; but to be poor is a real and great evil indeed. *Paupertas mihi onus viſum eſt, et miſerum, et grave*, as Terentius has it. Poverty may ſit pretty eaſy upon ſome ſorts of people, but on modern philoſophers it is pungent and inſupportable. Poverty all men chooſe to eſcape, and the greateſt part feel the utmoſt horror at it. Philoſophers may in other reſpects have a fixed antipathy to the opinions of the people, but in

this reſpect they ſee great cauſe to beat time and go along with them. Here we have made a ſmall deviation from the ancients, neceſſitated to do ſo by that change in manners and opinions which hath been produced in a courſe of ages, always advancing to further improvement. The deſire of making a little money is now a part of ſolid wiſdom; *Qui ſapit, ſibi ſapit.*

Μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός.

It is, if I may ſo ſay, embodied with, or hath become the very ſoul and quinteſſence of modern philoſophy. But it is nothing to have the deſire of money, without the ſkill of gratifying that deſire; and in this ſkill the world will do us the juſtice to acknowledge, that we have already made ſome very conſiderable improvement. Let others examine the figure of the earth, its diſtance from the ſun, the variation of the needle, or cauſes of the tides; this is our favourite branch of philoſophy,

> Orabunt cauſſas melius, cœlique meatus
> Deſcribent, radio et ſurgentia ſidera dicent.
> Hæ tibi erunt artes.

This we ſtudy, in this we exerciſe ourſelves by night and by day, in our houſes, our claſſes, our public and private walks; ever ſtriving to find out ſome new commendable method of increaſing our revenues, and making the moſt of our ſmall affairs. When we are ſeen walking on the ſtreet, ſome of us with lank, meagre, hollow cheek, a demure countenance, and ſerious air, the people believe that we are always in the exerciſe of devotion; but they are ſometimes miſtaken. *Interdum vulgus rectum videt eſt ubi peccat.* It is true, we are ſerious, and there is great propriety in our putting on that appearance; for, *in ſacris ſimulata pro veris accipiuntur*, as Servius hath judiciouſly remarked. But we are ſerious in cultivating that branch of true philoſophy which is our province. And firſt

and laſt, as I have ſaid, we have not been altogether unſucceſsful, nor reſted in bare ſpeculation. Our predeceſſors, in times of perſecution, by giving proper information againſt the puritanical party, merited large donations of teinds and feus, which, though ſuſpected for many years to be invalid, are now confirmed by long preſcription. We, for our part, have raiſed the minimum of our *honorariums*. We have moſt of us two claſſes, a public and a private; and thus, by artfully extending our uſefulneſs, (for great is the utility of private claſſes) we obtain yearly two *honorariums* from each ſtudent. By our large houſes, as above, we have convenience to board the rich lads, and by wiſely propagating a belief that we inſtruct them in private, and take care of their morals, we have wormed the citizens out of that lucrative trade of boarding, and have engroſſed it to ourſelves. In ſome pariſhes, where we have right to the teinds, we triple the graſſums, and continue, or double the yearly payment at the end of every nineteen years. In other pariſhes we value the teinds, and raiſe very conſiderable, but ſtill very reaſonable ſums. When ſimple people pay us teinds, and have no tack from us, we add every year a little to the ſum payable, till we have raiſed it a third or a fourth more than was payable by the ancient roll; but this we do chiefly when the lands are improved, and can well bear it. Such miniſters as we are forced to pay, we, for their and our own good, detain their ſtipends a year, or even two full years, and having got intereſt upon it from the bank, we divide the profits. Other miniſters we pay at 100 l. Scots per chalder, inſtead of the fiar which we exact, and make by that means great profit every year, ſometimes near half the value of their ſtipends. After a ſtipend hath been more than a full year due, if we pay more than 4 l. or 5 l. at a time, we exact a little by way of diſcount; and though we have done ſo for many years, we were never publicly

detected, except in one inſtance, when indeed one of us, as you would hear, was ſo hard put to it, that he was forced to acknowledge part of the truth, upon oath, in a civil court. We have lately procured an act of parliament, with reſpect to ſome of our burſaries, by which it is made lawful for us to touch the money ourſelves. When young men, who we ſuſpect would not pay us, apply for burſaries, we upon examination find them ignorant, and take care that thoſe be preferred who we foreſee will expend the value of their ſeveral burſaries in payments for our private claſſes. When, by old deeds of mortification, we ſeem obliged to bear the third part expence of repairing or building a pariſh church, we ſet our feet a-ſpar, and aver ſolemnly that we are not obliged to be at any expence at all; but if people be clamorous, we fling them a few guineas, which we tell them is a preſent to them. Demands of that kind are now pretty rarely made; becauſe, having all the original papers and extracts of them in our cuſtody, the people know not whether they have a title to demand any thing or not; though in a late inſtance, after a ſtout and ſucceſsful battle to ſave our money, we were in ſome danger; for, by an act of faculty, we had met with ſix gentlemen, and bargained to give towards building their church a very conſiderable ſum, which, by another final act of faculty, we decreed to keep to ourſelves; and ſhortly afterwards they were very near fingering papers which would have taught them more than we intend they ſhould ever learn; but by an extraordinary and well-timed diligence that danger was happily warded off. Theſe are a few inſtances of our improvement in practical philoſophy. *Nec ſumus attentiores ad rem quam ſat eſt.* We need all that we can get hold of; and all that we do, or have done, is fair and perfectly juſt. In fact, we find that we have ſtill by far too little, which puts us upon inventing means of getting ſomewhat more. *Quis*

eſt pauper? qui ſibi videtur pauper; as Seneca hath taught us. Learned men, in this age, muſt make the beſt ſhift they can; they beſt deſerve, and beſt know the uſe of riches.

It was principally with this ſame view of profit that we firſt thought of a chapel, and are now reſolved to build one. Some people imagined at firſt, that we were going to ſquander away money, purely for the ſake of religion, and that we might accommodate the citizens at an eaſy rate, of whom it is ſaid there are fourteen or ſixteen hundred families who cannot get ſeats in any of the town churches; but upon ſecond thoughts theſe people ſoon diſcovered their own fooliſh miſtake. If we build a chapel, it muſt yield us profit. Once we deſigned to have a church upon the eſtabliſhment; but after mature reflection, we are convinced it will be much more profitable to have only a chapel, provided it be large enough: A fifteenth part of it will accommodate us and our ſtudents; the reſt of it we will let to the citizens, and expect 200 l. a-year for the ſeats; for the richer and politer ſort will reſort to it. We will raiſe yearly 150 l. collection, which we well know how to diſpoſe of. We will by way of auction ſet the ſeats which are our property in the Blackfriar church at 100 l. yearly; 200 l. and 150 l. is 350 l. and 100 l. more is 450 l. We will raiſe a capacious and handſome enough chapel for about 1000 l. which, as our ſecurity is good, we can borrow at four per cent. By the bye we get five per cent. for our own money. This brings down the yearly profit to 410 l. We will give a young lad 30 s. *per diem dominicum*, for preaching a few Sundays, ſuppoſe twenty, which will take away other 30 l. This will leave the neat yearly profit at 380 l.; and this we will divide amongſt ourſelves. There are ſix fellows of the univerſity who are to preach by turns, and they will no doubt expect to be very well paid; but the reſt alſo muſt have a

reaſonable proportion. Now, if we ſhould make it a church upon the eſtabliſhment, the miniſter would run away with 130 l. from us, which would in ſome ſort defeat our end, and render our particular quotas more ſcrimp and pitiful. In that caſe, we would have only 250 l. to divide amongſt ourſelves.

8. Nor are we juſt ſo totally intent upon profit, and on Chriſtian liberty, as not to aim alſo at a reform in the matter and method of preaching; another reaſon for the chapel which I had almoſt forgotten. I muſt confeſs, that our lectures on compoſition have not produced all the effect that was expected from them: Many who have been taught by us are in truth, Sir, very lifeleſs, clumſy, and heavy-headed preachers. I lately heard one of them in a certain church, who, if he could not be ſaid to be the inventor of ſleep, was at leaſt a powerful promoter of it. He gave copious and ſucceſsful doſes of the true ſoporific. I ſoon found myſelf becoming drowſy; I kept mine eyes open as long as I could; I ſupported my head on my palm, with my elbow on the deſk before me: Sleep however overpowered me; but I was ſoon ſet awake by a painful ſtroke which my chin received in falling, by the law of gravitation, on the front of the gallery: With difficulty I catched hold of my wig, which had half fallen down from my head. I was for ſome time in confuſion, rubbing my eyes, and knew not where I was: As ſoon as I recovered my ſenſes, I heard all the maſters on my right and left hand ſnoring loud, and ſaw moſt of our ſtudents, and many of the congregation, faſt aſleep; and was ſorrieſt of all to ſee our own *Alumnus* nodding in the pulpit, his eyes half-ſhut, and broken ſentences and half words coming ſlowly from his mouth. When I became more awake, and had crawled home, "Well and good, ſaid I to myſelf, truth is beſt hit upon by chance; this hath been an inſtructive ſleep to me; I have learned more by it than ever I did by any

grammatical or philoſophical inveſtigation." I reaſoned upon the matter, and was convinced, that lectures on compoſition, without models both of compoſition and delivery, would not be effectful. But when in our chapel example is ſuperadded to precept; when diſcourſes are accurately compoſed, according to the Ariſtotelian, the Ciceronian, and Quintilianian rules, and eſpecially by the energy of our own rhetorical ſyſtems, delivered with a philoſophical ſolemnity, with ſpirit and vivacity, and all the graces of elocution; when, preaching by turns, every one of us is ſeen to exult in his own peculiar excellence, and all of us ſoar, like Elijah, high above the heads of all ordinary public ſpeakers, inſtruction, like a cloak, will drop down from us; our young Eliſhas will receive a double portion of our ſpirit, and pray and preach accordingly. Then a wonderful and much-needed improvement in the art of preaching will quickly take place; the ſpirit of eloquence, like *aſſa fœtida*, or any ſtrongly odoriferous body, will diffuſe itſelf on all ſides from our chapel. Firſt it will ſeize on the miniſters of the town, then on theſe in the neighbourhood, and then gradually extend its influence to the moſt remote parts; by which operation, our chapel will have the ſingular glory of improving the whole kingdom.

And while we are reforming the art of preaching, we will at the ſame time do our utmoſt to improve our church muſic, which hitherto conſiſts of little elſe but jarring and diſcordant ſounds. It is pity we are not able to reſtore the muſic of the ancients, which produced ſo aſtoniſhing effects. To ſupply that want, one of our number is, in the enſuing vacation, to viſit the Highlands and Weſtern Iſles of Scotland; the ſeats of our ancient heroes, our Connals, our Starnos, and our Fingals, celebrated in the ſongs of our Oſſians, our Crunniochs, and our Pibrochs. This is a tour unknown to the ancients, and happily reſerved

to brighten the ſouls of philoſophers in this cultivated age. In theſe noble iſlands, one muſt be entertained with many odd curioſities, and ſee and hear many things that muſt elevate his genius and refine his taſte. Mull, Egg, Barra, Tyrteuſkin, Phlangmuggafes, Chuphichico, Challenza, Buttendwi, Phartattum, Gronckfort, Gripgoldom, Jura, Yehetna, Ronagat, Duntlum, Skie, Lewes, and many others. We are yet but learning their names; but hereafter they will be well known, and greatly reſorted to by men of learning and taſte. To viſit them in order will be the grand polite tour of modern times. Great alterations happen in the world: *Quid tibi viſa Chios, Bullati notaque Leſbos; Quid concinna Samos, quid Cræſi regia Sardis?* was of old the queſtion put to a Roman gentleman returned from his travels. Now, a learned man hath compoſed a poem, conſiſting of fifty-ſeven verſes, to be addreſſed to our colleague at his return.

Quid tibi viſa Lew'ſi, Bulhede, ſanctaque Kilda;
Quid concinna Southuiſt, quid Fingalis Regia Morven, &c.

I will not inſert the poem, nor ſay any more at preſent about the delight and advantage which will be derived from viſiting the Weſtern Iſles. Our colleague's principal aim in this voyage is to enrich our ſacred poeſy, and improve our church muſic; and we have ground to hope he will ſucceed. We ſmelled out ſomething from the heireſs of Muck, who was in this city ſome weeks ago. The ſcent was too ſtrong and ſavoury not to be purſued. Being ſet upon a proper track, the intelligence we had got was confirmed by the ſchoolmaſter of Phlogbirch, and ſtill further by a devout and learned Highland divine, Mr. Macfribble, who is miniſter of Dronioch. With the two laſt we keep up a conſtant correſpondence. All the three agree, that in the iſland of Pleyelp, Macſqueel, Clocſooti, Drumgrunt, or Crumyaau, may be found ſome hymns and oratorios, part of which ought to have been inſerted in the printed copy of the he-

roic poem of Fingal, and the reſt in that of Temora: They even give us ſome cauſe to expect, that in one of theſe iſles a bard may be found who is ſkilled in the ſongs, and can perform the muſic of other times. Theſe hymns, if recovered, will be a rich acquiſition; and if ſuch a bard is brought to this place, he will ſtrike up his melodious Gaelic tunes, reform and alter our muſic, and be a great ornament to our chapel; and we will make him profeſſor of Gaelic.

However, though our friend ſhould not be altogether ſucceſsful in his firſt tour, we will take care to ſerve the cauſe of muſic. An organ is what we would intend; but in truth we are a good deal ſtartled at the expence; and we chooſe not to do this without a little preparation, leſt the captious people hereabout ſhould be too much diſguſted. In the mean time, therefore, to ſave money, we will begin with a pitch-pipe. Cheap muſic is good muſic. A pitch-pipe will ſtrike the juſt tone: Muſic in the four parts will be ſung in our chapel with admirable harmony, to the great delight and devotion of the worſhippers, and the great wonder and entertainment of the whole city. Great and delightful will be the effect of the pitch-pipe: The pitch-pipe may be hiſſed at and condemned at firſt; but from its ſurpriſing agreeableneſs, it is almoſt certain, that there will very ſoon be at leaſt one pitch-pipe and one pitch-piper in every church in city and country. And it may further be expected, from that reſpect which is paid to our example, that in a little time there will be a pitch-pipe and a pitch-piper in every rich and numerous family.

And that complete decency in every part of the ſervice may be obſerved, we will all attend the chapel; and eſpecially we will take care that our *Oeconomus* be as often preſent as poſſible: He is a member of faculty, and muſt be ſeated on ſome eminent place where every one within the walls may have a full view of him, as he will be of great uſe to diſpoſe the

ſtudents to gravity; for if it be the characteriſtic of the ſublime, that it always occaſions ſome emotion of terror, his face is certainly a very ſublime object: Should any of our ſtudents be in a lightſome mood, his craving and tremendous viſage will no ſooner be beheld, but it will inſtantly create terror in their ſouls, and gravity in their countenances. If he ſhall now and then mount the pulpit (which he is well qualified to do, for he is a deep ſcholar in Hebrew without the points; he is an able and extraordinary critic in all ſermons; he is full founder than any of us; and if he knew of any thing more difficult and incredible than what he believes already, he would immediately ſhow that he has ſtrength to ſurmount it, or capacity to ſwallow it down), every one who ſees him will be frightened, and overawed into a ſhivering ſilence and decent compoſure. He is an uſeful and well-choſen member indeed: He is accurate in collecting money, and buying-up proviſions for us on week-days; and by his grim ſeverity of countenance and terrifying looks, he is able to throw an inſtantaneous and abiding damp upon gay and youthful minds, and abſolutely ſecure the ſolemnity of our religious meetings on Sundays.

Theſe are the reaſons we had for a ſeparate chapel; and I am perſuaded they will appear to you very ſtrong and cogent. This chapel delivers us from many painful inconveniencies; it will be a public monument of our independency; it adds to our dignity; it ſhelters us from kirk-proſecutions and pitiful penances, or at leaſt renders them leſs intolerable; it will ſet right the notions of the world with reſpect to thoſe things which deſerve public cenſure; it delivers us from a religion that is not to our liking, and affords us an opportunity of hearing philoſophical and oratorial ſermons; it puts it in our power to diſplay our talents, to be patterns of true eloquence, and to improve the moſt diſtant parts of the country in the art

of ſpeaking in public; it will, by the uſe of the pitch-pipe, greatly alter and improve our church muſic; and it is a wiſe and laudable mean of gaining ſomething conſiderable to ourſelves. I have written this from the very ſentiments of my heart; and have honeſtly, and without reſervation, laid open to you the views we have had; and I hope we ſhall have your approbation. Had we erected a church, and made up a legal ſeſſion from among ourſelves, our ſtudents, and our ſervants (alas! we have juſt now loſt a wiſe and valuable ſervant, whoſe counſel and aſſiſtance was of great uſe to us), we would have been ſtill better ſecured, at leaſt in one reſpect; but then we would have made much leſs profit; beſides, a fixed ſtipend, over and above the loſs of ſo much money, would render the miniſter independent on us, and he might, in a little time, give the ſame grievous deſcriptions, and uſe the ſame freedom of ſpeech by which we have already ſuffered ſo much; and in this reſpect we would be juſt as we were before. Young lads whom we can turn off at pleaſure, will of courſe preach politely, and make it their principal ſtudy to keep off any fault which any of us hath been ſo much as ſuſpected of. Their own intereſt will teach them to be modeſt and diſcreet. Such diſcretion and politeneſs will raiſe our eſteem of them, and it may alſo recommend them to the good liking of ſeveral congregations in town and country. And further, as we deſign only a chapel, there is no neceſſity of giving the communion in it, which will ſave us the price of the elements. On theſe occaſions, we will juſt ſtep into ſome of the town churches, and take as much as we pleaſe, where the magiſtrates are to defray the expence.

But I fear it will be a year, or even more, before we can get a ſpacious chapel erected. However, when October comes, we will meet for worſhip in our own large hall, where we will have room enough

for ourſelves and our ſtudents, and may alſo ſet a good many ſeats by way of auction; or we may ſell 200 tickets at a crown a-piece, which will be above three guineas to each of us, which is ſtill ſomething. It puts us into a little perplexity, that, by the ſtatutes of the college, women are not to be admitted within our gates: On the one hand, it is feared, that if we rigidly obſerve that ſtatute, ſeveral of our ſtudents may chooſe to go to ſome church in the city which is frequented by the ladies; on the other hand, it is foreſeen, that if young ladies are allowed to come to the hall, the ſtudents will entice them to their chambers to drink tea after the ſervice; that a freer and opener intercourſe between females and the college gentlemen than hath hitherto ſubſiſted may take place, and that there may be a violent ſuſpicion of diſorderly familiarities, which will bring ſcandal upon the college, and upon the ladies who reſort to it. On each hand there is certainly ſome danger; but it will, we judge, be rather wiſer to admit the ladies, which will prevent our meeting from being thin, and our orator from being no more but *vox clamantis in deſerto*. We will take all the care we can that there be no outward indecency. Old ſtatutes, when found to be inconvenient, deſerve to be exploded. At the worſt, this inconveniency will only be ſuffered while we uſe the hall as a chapel; it will be totally removed whenever the new chapel is erected. And, to balance that inconveniency, whilſt we meet in the hall, we will not need to preach, nor hire any lad to preach in vacation time. It is true, that when we have rouped our ſeats in the Blackfriar's we will have no room for ourſelves in any church: But when any of us happens to go to a church in ſummer, the town's people will not grudge to give us a ſeat for once in a month or ſo. We will not chooſe to give them too much trouble.

And now, Sir, I ſhall leave you to judge, from the

length and nature of this letter, how real and how great an eſteem I have for you. I once deſigned to have written the letter wholly in Latin, in imitation of the ancients, and believing that you who are ſo liberal to learned men muſt have a great deal of learning yourſelf; but, in compliance with cuſtom, I have written it as I could in the vulgar Engliſh. I have, however, interſperſed a Latin ſentence here and there.

I preſume I have now ſatisfied your curioſity, and have nothing more to add, but that I hope your two younger ſons will be ready for our college againſt October. It is pity that many rich people hurry their ſons to buſineſs without making them acquainted with the ancient languages, or giving them a courſe of ſolid philoſophy. I know well that you have too much eſteem of learning to be of that number. With great duty and reſpect,

I am, &c.

Glaſgow College,
May, 1764.

APPENDIX.

BOOKSELLERS have often ſent abroad unfiniſhed and mutilated productions of great authors, ſurreptitiouſly obtained, and have peſtered the world with many pieces of Grub-ſtreet ſtuff, recommended by the names of learned men, who could never have any hand in ſuch poor and wretched traſh, equally deſtitute of ſenſe and taſte. The publiſher diſdains ſuch practices, and ſolemnly declares that there is no impoſition in the preſent caſe. The Letter he now delivers to the public is the real and genuine work of Pr—f—r ———, correctly written in his own hand. He came very honeſtly by the manuſcript: And as among all thoſe to whom he ſhowed it there was but

one (who is indeed an honeſt and grave enough ſort of man) who did not diſcern and eſteem the ſpirit of it, he was ſoon determined to put it to the preſs. He diſcerned in it a manly freedom of thought, and a noble ſincerity, which is only to be found among the learned, among perſons of good breeding, or thoſe of an uncommonly elevated turn of mind; a ſincerity, which, though it may be nibbled at by ſmall wits and perſons of rigid principles who love to walk in trammels, is, however, the characteriſtic of great and generous minds. In his judgment, a worſe man would have writ with that ſtingy caution and reſerve, which is ſo generally the ſymptom of a duplicity of ſoul. But this author, from a guileleſs heart, unveils the truth, and expreſſes his ſentiments without mincing or diſguiſe. To communicate truth is his ſincere aim; and he appears to have laid it down as a maxim, that from truth he will never ſwerve for any conſideration whatſoever; ſo that, though it were poſſible to take advantage of any particular unguarded expreſſion, (if he hath fallen into ſuch) it would be the utmoſt baſeneſs to attempt it: But if any ſuch baſeneſs ſhould be found in any perſon, the author will be ſufficiently able to defend himſelf, and will have all the men of wit and taſte in the three kingdoms on his ſide. A man of merit ſhould be ſupported, if he is like to be maliciouſly borne down. We are highly obliged to philoſophers, and ought to applaud them, when they attend accurately to their own genuine feelings, and delineate them with a ſtrict regard to truth and nature; for thereby we are led to a true knowledge of the human heart, and diſcover thoſe latent ſprings which ſet the world in motion.

The publiſher is ſenſible that every writer hath a ſtyle and method peculiar in ſome ſort to himſelf, and that when he takes pen in hand, ſuch words and phraſes as he hath been moſt accuſtomed to do naturally occur to him; he is therefore no ways ſtartled

at the words Horatius, Terentius, &c. though not very commonly uſed. He is far from criticiſing the compoſition of any ſenſible and ſpirited author; for he neither envies nor undervalues talents which he is ſure he can never reach: Far leſs will he take upon him to criticiſe the above letter; for, whatever its author's faults may be, they are amply compenſated by that candid uprightneſs, that unreſerved and intrepid freedom with which he writes: And, which redounds ſtill more to his praiſe, and muſt endear him to every honeſt man, it hath been ſufficiently vouched that he generouſly conſented that his letter ſhould be publiſhed, foreſeeing, that as it contains a faithful and undiſguiſed account of the matter in queſtion, it will appear to be a complete vindication of himſelf and the ſociety of which he has the honour to be a member; and perhaps he judged ſuch a vindication or apology to be very neceſſary.

The publiſher indeed wiſhes that the learned profeſſor had ſeen fit to write his Letter wholly in what he is pleaſed to call the *vulgar Engliſh*, without interſperſing any of his Greek or Latin ſentences, becauſe theſe have occaſioned him ſome perplexity and trouble. He was afraid it might be ſuſpected that under theſe phraſes was couched ſomething myſterious, or diſloyal, or even dangerous and heretical. Moreover, it was ſuggeſted to him by ſome gentlemen of diſcernment, that the ſhreds of Greek and Latin might, in ſome places, unleſs they were tranſlated, mar the ſenſe and meaning of the piece: He judged it his duty to ſave the author, as far as poſſible, from being ſo much as ſuſpected of any wrong or unſound opinions; and he was alſo deſirous to make every word intelligible to ordinary readers. He therefore had recourſe to a certain univerſity ſcholar who reſorts to his ſhop, and prevailed upon him to turn the Greek and Latin into Engliſh: He hath not ſkill to judge whether theſe tranſlations be elegant;

he even ſuſpects them to be ſomewhat clumſy; but believes, that though delicacy may be a-wanting, the author will, from his innate candour, be ready to acknowledge that the ſenſe is pretty exactly hit upon. He was adviſed by a very grave citizen to leave out the Greek and Latin entirely, and to inſert the tranſlations in the reſpective places; but he durſt not venture on ſo bold a ſtep, which might juſtly have provoked the learned profeſſor. He hath with the niceſt care kept the text pure, entire, and genuine, as it came from the author's pen; and, to preſerve the full appearance of its genuineneſs, he did not even chooſe to put the tranſlations at the foot of the page, by way of notes or commentary. Some of the tranſlations are ſaid to be taken from ſtandard books, and the reſt of them are, he verily believes, the beſt his friend could make out: As they are he preſents them to the Engliſh reader, with references to the particular places where they occur in the body of the work; and for the full and complete underſtanding of the book, the diligent reader may, if he pleaſe, write the tranſlations, or moſt of them, upon the margin.

He hath only five things to add:

1. That if, through inadvertency or haſte, the learned profeſſor hath miſquoted any paſſage, the tranſlator is not anſwerable for any ſuch miſtake.

2. He begs the learned reader to forgive his ſwelling the volume by this Appendix, which is purely deſigned for the benefit of thoſe who either were never taught, or who have forgotten the learned languages; of both which ſorts there are many ſenſible people in the country, and ſeveral alſo in the city. Among the laſt, the publiſher, though unworthy, profeſſeth himſelf to be one.

3. He poſitively aſſures the public, that the book is not to remain with having only its Greek and Latin ſentences tranſlated. The whole of it will, within the ſpace of a few months, be tranſlated into all the

European languages, except the Ruſs and the Portugueſe. For his own part, as the piece is quite different from the inſipid productions of hireling, proſtitute, and illiterate ſcribblers, and is indeed poſſeſſed of a very uncommon merit, he hath already determined, in imitation of his Neapolitan majeſty, to compliment every Britiſh and every foreign univerſity with a copy of it.

4. He acknowledges he hath heard it whiſpered, that the candid author's colleagues are diſpleaſed at his having writ with ſo much openneſs, and that they even begin to talk big about their criminal juriſdiction, or power of beheading and hanging, which, it ſeems, they have anciently or recently obtained; a dangerous power, moſt certainly, if lodged in ſome hands. He thinks it ſomewhat improbable, that they will make the firſt eſſay and exertion of that power upon one of themſelves; for, if they once begin, they may ſee cauſe to proceed very far, and may even be at a loſs where to ſtop; though, on the other hand, unleſs they begin with one of themſelves, their privilege may lie for ever dormant, becauſe it is unlikely that any citizen or countryman will offer himſelf, or venture to be tried at their tribunal. If it be true, that they are really diſpleaſed, he thinks they will rather ſift him before ſome other tribunal than their own. Extruſion may be tried; or a ſwinging fine, with a pithy admonition and rebuke from the faculty, as in other caſes, may ſatisfy them; or perhaps ſome of them may write againſt their own colleague, and ſtrive to give a different account of the matter; though it will be difficult to fly in the face of truth; for the particulars mentioned by the profeſſor, at which his colleagues are ſaid to be moſt diſpleaſed, are, it ſeems, true beyond all poſſibility of being denied. A conſiderable merchant in this city is pretty ſingular in his opinion: He offers to lay a great wager, that from a miſtaken regard to their colleague, they will audaci-

ouſly refuſe that ever he writ the piece, and endeavour to father it upon ſome unknown or ignorant perſon. This opinion gains no credit. The publiſher firmly believes the motives mentioned in the Letter to be the real and genuine ones, and hopes, that if there ſhall unluckily be a controverſy on this point, the learned gentlemen will manage it with decency, and with the temper of philoſophers. When great ſcholars have different views of a fact or ſpeculative point, they treat one another politely, and keep ever in mind, that to diſcover or convey truth is the great end of all the controverſies of the learned.

5. And laſtly, He begs the other learned gentlemen, inſtead of vain altercations with their brother, to publiſh, as faſt as ever they can, thoſe valuable manuſcripts which they have finiſhed, whether compoſed by one or by the joint efforts of five or ſix; becauſe to print them is the moſt effectual method to preſerve them from being loſt. And he humbly calls upon them to take warning from that woeful and unfortunate accident which ſo lately happened to one of themſelves; whoſe whole manuſcripts, the labour of many painful days and nights, was ſhipwrecked, and caſt away upon the coaſt of Norway; a misfortune the more grievous, as it is ſo obſervable, and never like to be repaired; for, ever ſince, from all that unfortunate gentleman's lectures and diſcourſes, the fatal loſs of his papers hath been too manifeſt; and hath been painfully felt and heavily bemoaned by every perſon who went and ſtayed to hear him.

TRANSLATION

OF THE

GREEK AND LATIN.

Page. Line.

234. 15. The beautiful, *ib.* Decorum, decency, or propriety.

ibid. 27. O philoſophy! thou haſt been the guide of mankind, thou haſt invented laws, thou haſt taught us morality and ſcience.

ibid. 29. Never will wickedneſs prevail ſo far, never will ſuch a conſpiracy be formed againſt the virtues, but that the name of philoſophy muſt ſtill remain venerable and ſacred.

236. 6. It is a fine thing for one to be wondered at, and to have it ſaid of him, "This is the man."

ibid. 13. Joyful poverty is an honourable thing.

238. 24. Happy the man, who, ſtudying nature's laws,
Through known effects can trace the ſecret cauſe;
His mind poſſeſſing, in a quiet ſtate,
Fearleſs of fortune, and reſign'd to fate. DRYDEN.

ibid. 27. O philoſophy! to thee we betake ourſelves; thou haſt given us tranquillity of life, and taken away the fear of death.

239. 33. The guiding, directing, or conducting faculty.

240. 8. To live according to nature.

ibid. 14. ———————— by fate
Gently inſpir'd with the poetic ſtrain,
We trample on the vulgar with diſdain.

ibid. 25. Vices, but moderate ones, we have,
Which one may eaſily forgive.

241. 21. The power and mettle of the devil is in the loins.

243. 9. Long time men lay oppreſs'd with ſlaviſh fear,
Religion's tyranny did domineer,
Which being plac'd in heaven, look'd proudly down,
And frighted abject ſpirits with her frown:
At length a mighty one * of Greece began
T' aſſert the nat'ral liberty of man;
By ſenſeleſs terrors and vain fancies led
To ſlav'ry: Straight the conquer'd phantoms fled.
What verſe can ſoar on ſo ſublime a wing
As reaches his deſerts? What muſe can ſing
As he requires? What poet now can raiſe
A ſtately monument of endleſs praiſe,
Great as his vaſt deſerts, who firſt did ſhow
Thoſe uſeful truths?———————

* *Epicurus.*

Page. Line.

For if we view the mighty things he ſhow'd,
His uſeful truths proclaim, *He was a God.*
He was a God, who firſt reform'd our ſouls,
And led us by philoſophy and rules:
From cares, and fears, and melancholy night,
To peace, to joy, to eaſe, and ſhow'd us light.
CREECH.

243. 32. Poverty, in my ſenſe of things, is a wretched and heavy burden.

244. 7. He who is wiſe, is wiſe to himſelf.

ibid. 9. I hate the ſophiſt, who is not wiſe to get ſomething to himſelf.

ibid. 20. Let others better mould the running maſs
Of metals, and inform the breathing braſs,
And ſoften into fleſh a marble face,
Plead better at the bar, deſcribe the ſkies,
And when the ſtars deſcend, and when they riſe;
The *gainful art* be thine, 'tis worthy thee. DRYDEN.

ibid. 32. Sometimes they vulgar hit, ſometimes they miſs.

ibid. 34. For, in religion, hypocriſy paſſeth for ſincerity.

246. 34. Nor are we more greedy to get money than we ought to be.

ibid. ult. Who is poor? He who thinks himſelf poor.

250. 13. Now you have Leſbos, and fair Samos ſeen;
At Sardis, Colophon, and Smyrna been:
What think'ſt thou, good Bullatius?——

ibid. 19. Now you have Lew's, Muck, and St. Kilda ſeen;
At Morven, Fingal's royal palace, been:
What think'ſt thou of them, and of fair Southuiſt?

254. 22. One crying in a deſart; or, empty chapel.

LETTER

To J——— M———, Esq.

ON THE

DEFECTS

OF AN

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION,

And its unsuitableness to a Commercial People; with the expediency and necessity of erecting at Glasgow an Academy for the Instruction of Youth.

Sir,

LAST time we were in company with you, you was pleased to express much surprise, "that so few inhabitants of this city send their sons to the university!" And a friend of yours added, "that such of us as had got a complete course of university education had generally little more knowledge or taste than those who never had that advantage."

We are sensible that neither of you is singular in your opinion: Many have expressed the same surprise with less good humour than you did; they have attempted to ridicule us, and seem to imagine, that our capacities are slower and our understandings duller than those of other men commonly are.

We readily acknowledge, that there is a good deal of truth in both the remarks. In proportion to its populousness, this city sends few scholars to the university; and many who have been there are hardly to be distinguished from their fellow-citizens who were never at a college.

And yet we hope it is not difficult to make an apology for ourſelves in both theſe particulars. We will tell you what we apprehend are the reaſons that moſt of us who have had an univerſity education are ſo little improved by it; when this is done, we imagine your wonder will ceaſe, that ſo few among us chooſe to ſend their ſons to a place where themſelves reaped ſo little benefit; and we beg leave to acquaint you with a propoſal that is talked of among our fellow-citizens, which, if it is gone into and properly executed, will put an end to your ſurpriſe, and will, we hope, in a ſhort time, remove the ill-grounded reproach, "that our citizens are dull," as it will be an effectual and laſting method to improve our youth.

Candid people will preſume or allow, that it is very unlikely the blame of our want of knowledge ſhould lie all on one ſide; we think, that from our general conduct and tranſactions with the world, we have given little or no ground to have it ſuſpected, that the ſize of our underſtanding is inferior to that of other men. If we have little taſte or learning, the fault may be in ſome degree in our teachers; the things taught may be too abſtruſe to be underſtood, or ſuch as muſt ſoon be forgot, being unſuitable to us, and having no relation to the circumſtances and manner of life we are afterwards to be in.

That a great part of the courſe of philoſophy taught at our univerſity is of this nature, is but too obvious. It is evident, that the univerſities of Scotland in general, and particularly this of Glaſgow, have been founded and deſigned purely or chiefly for the ſake of that theology which was in vogue two or three hundred years ago: Some of the claſſes bear evident marks of this original deſign, being either totally or in part calculated for the diſputes and wranglings of divines, and of little uſe to the lawyer or phyſician, and ſtill leſs to the merchant or gentleman.

Of this ſort we reckon logic and metaphyſics, which

conſumed one whole ſeſſion at the univerſity and part of another. Theſe arts or ſciences (for it is not yet agreed which of them they are) are to the greateſt part of ſtudents quite unintelligible; and if they could be underſtood, we cannot for our life diſcover their uſe.

Nature has made all the chief pleaſures of life eaſy to be got; ſhe has alſo made all that knowledge which is generally uſeful eaſy to be attained: Did men obſerve this, they would ſoon diſcover what is the knowledge they ought to acquire and teach; but it has unluckily happened, that many who ought to have been wiſer have ever neglected that knowledge which is obvious and uſeful, and have puzzled their brains to get what is difficult, metaphyſical, and uſeleſs: From the difficulty they have found in acquiring it, they have concluded it muſt be important, and have taken much pleaſure in conveying it to others; but if theſe learned gentlemen would but attend a little, they would ſoon ſee the unprofitableneſs of what they are accuſtomed ſo much to magnify. What ordinary company, what company of gentlemen is it where metaphyſical diſputes or the logic of the ſchools are ever ſo much as mentioned? Will a gentleman, by the deepeſt ſkill in them, make the better figure in the Houſe of Commons, or appear with the more dignity at the bar? Will his eloquence in the pulpit be the more perſuaſive, or will he be the better ſkilled in the animal economy? Will metaphyſics inſpire him with devotion, give him a higher reliſh of virtue, or enable him to act with greater propriety in life? Or will the knowledge of them be of any advantage to the farmer, the architect, or the merchant? We apprehend, that none of theſe queſtions can be anſwered in the affirmative. And muſt acquirements, that are ſo confeſſedly of no uſe in life, that are never ſo much as talked of in good company, waſte a year or two of a young man's time? Is life ſo long? Is time of ſo

little value, that there are not enow of useful studies to fill it up with? Must recourse be had to things which any well-bred man would be ashamed to have it suspected that he had ever employed his thoughts about?

We are very sorry to say, that if the time some of us attended the university, and spent so absurdly in hearing crabbed questions and metaphysical jargon, had been employed in teaching us ancient and modern history, and especially that of our own country, we should have been much more obliged to the learned professors; we should have been much better accomplished, and have appeared to be so in the judgment of those with whom we converse.

But logic and metaphysics, though they appear to us to be the most absurd, and consumed the greatest part of our time to no purpose, yet they were not the only things that wasted it at the university: The disquisitions we heard about the origin of moral virtue are little better remembered by us, and seem to be of little more use.

We are not ignorant, that the lectures on moral philosophy have for many years past been delivered in this university by very able masters, and in a very ingenious manner; and we are informed, that this was never more the case than it is at present: But we apprehend, these ingenious gentlemen have rather indulged their bias to some singular opinions of their own, than communicated much knowledge to even the most intelligent of their scholars. We suppose also, that as their disputes are so abstruse, and their theories about the foundation of morality so different, neither can be of much necessity or use.

One contends, that morality is founded in the will of God; another, in conformity to truth; a third, in the fitness and unfitness, or in the eternal and unalterable relations or differences of things; a fourth, in a moral sense or discernment, supposed to be na-

tural to the human mind; another eſtabliſhes his ſyſtem on ſympathy. But whatever ſcheme the profeſſor of morality contrives or embraces, he uſes a long train of thin metaphyſical reaſoning to eſtabliſh it, and ſpends a great part of the year in laying down arguments for, and anſwering objections againſt, his ſyſtem;—arguments very pleaſing, and perhaps intelligible to himſelf, as they are familiar to him, and he believes they will pleaſe and improve his pupils; but they are too ſubtile to be underſtood by them, and leave little or no impreſſion upon any of their minds. Here, we imagine, there is much time loſt, and pains miſplaced. Might not theſe nice diſquiſitions about the foundation of morality be left out, or ſlightly ſkimmed over, and the ſtudents be juſt as knowing and as wiſe? How few of them are able to apprehend ſuch arguments, or to purſue ſuch reaſoning? Might not the time be better ſpent in teaching them morality, in explaining the nature of the particular virtues? Would not this be more adapted to the capacity of the ſcholars, and incomparably more uſeful to them through the whole of life? And might not the profeſſors eaſily purſue this ſimple and uſeful method of teaching? Ought they not to deſcend to it, inſtead of torturing their invention to eſtabliſh what it is little matter whether it be eſtabliſhed or not. There are objects, the nature of which may be eaſily underſtood, when their origin is in vain ſearched after. We ſhould like better that geographer who deſcribes exactly the courſe and ſoundings of St. Laurence or Senegal rivers, than another who tediouſly and minutely diſputes about the preciſe ſpot where each of theſe rivers takes its riſe. And we ſhould not expect that a merchant would thrive, who, when he came to a river's mouth, delayed to load his ſhip with the commodities which had been brought down the river, or were produced upon its banks, till he had firſt traced the river upwards, and made him-

ſelf ſure of the place where it began. Whatever be the foundation of morality, the nature of the particular virtues may be deſcribed; the youth are capable of underſtanding them, though perhaps not able to enter into abſtruſe inveſtigations about the origin of moral virtue. To know what virtue is, is uſeful to men in every ſtation of life; but who is the better for having heard or underſtood a great many ſubtile diſputes about its origin? For our parts, we ſhould not grudge though the learned profeſſor kept theſe entirely to himſelf, or he might, for his particular comfort and ſatisfaction, communicate his knotty ideas to that one of his ſcholars who has moſt connection with leading men, and has the beſt chance to be recommended to ſucceed him, and who will either eſpouſe or think himſelf obliged to be at an immenſe labour to deſtroy the moral theory of his predeceſſor.

Theſe different theories may be amuſing to contemplative minds, and for aught we know, there may be ſome truth in each of them, and at bottom they may be leſs inconſiſtent with one another than they appear to be; but whether they be or be not inconſiſtent; whether any of them or none of them is true, we will be bold to ſay, that no one of them, after ſo much time and pains ſpent upon it, ever enabled that ſcholar who underſtood it beſt to reſtrain a ſingle paſſion, or to perform one virtuous action. And we ſhall ſurely be thought to have kept within bounds, while we pronounce no more concerning the abovementioned dry parts of ſcience than one who is eſteemed a good judge has done, with reſpect to a long and complete courſe of univerſity education: "It would be hard to ſay what one duty of ſociety, or what one office as a citizen, a ſtudent is qualified to diſcharge or ſuſtain, after his cloſe application of ſo many years."

Some of us were the ſcholars of an illuſtrious teacher of morality, himſelf a perfect and ready maſter of

Greek and Latin. He introduced or revived a high taſte for claſſical learning in this place; and while he lived he kept it alive. If ever a profeſſor had the art of communicating knowledge, and of raiſing an eſteem and deſire of it in the minds of his ſcholars; if ever one had the magical power to inſpire the nobleſt ſentiments, and to warm the hearts of youth with the admiration and love of virtue; if ever one had the art to create an eſteem of liberty, and an abhorrence and contempt of tyranny and tyrants, he was the man. What pity was it, that for three or four months a-year ſuch ſuperior talents ſhould have been thrown away on metaphyſical and fruitleſs diſputations! When theſe were got over, how delightful and edifying was it to hear him! If we did not make ſome improvement during the few remaining months of the ſeſſion, the fault, we acknowledge, was in ourſelves; and perhaps our docility was leſſened, and our minds ſtupified, as we had the year before been accuſtomed to hear lectures, which neither deſerved nor catched our attention. For the moral diſputes, as that gentleman managed them (though, as we have hinted, ſomething really uſeful ought to have been taught inſtead of them), were not reckoned ſo inſipid as the logical and metaphyſical. We can yet remember, that had the regulations of the college permitted that ſtudents might have gone directly from the languages to ethics, many in this city, who looked upon logic and metaphyſics as futile and unintelligible, would have ſent their children to him. In that caſe, they would have had an advantage that was much deſired; their children would have both heard the lectures at one hour, and have been examined upon them at another; whereas, by the rules, except they had been firſt at the logic claſs, they could but hear the lectures.

But beſides the intricacy of the things taught, there was another cauſe why moſt of us imbibed but little

knowledge at the univerſity: Our profeſſors loved rank, and kept themſelves at a greater diſtance from their ſcholars than common ſchoolmaſters do. This hindered them from knowing our genius or particular turn, and directing us to a proper courſe of reading. When we left the univerſity, we were totally unacquainted with hiſtory: We had formed no plan of moral or of natural knowledge: Had our teachers been at a little pains with us, they might eaſily have diſcerned the bent of our genius, and what natural capacity each of us had; from our circumſtances, they might have formed probable conjectures what buſineſs in life we were deſigned for; and they might have directed us to the books proper to be read: We are of opinion, that the uſefulneſs of public teachers lies in this as much as in delivering their lectures, and perhaps more. By ſome pains taken in this manner, ſcholars might in a few years attain more real and diſtinct knowledge than without ſuch direction they are ever like to attain in their lives. We ſay this, as we have often done, from deep-felt experience. We were, when young, greedy of knowledge, and continually reading ſomething or other; but nobody was ſo kind to adviſe us and ſet us on a right track. We hope we are not vain in imagining, that if our diligence in purſuit of knowledge had been well directed, when our memories were ſtrong, our thirſt after knowledge great, and our minds free from cares, we might have made ſome ſort of progreſs in literature; but this was not done, which we deeply regret, and muſt regret while we have breath.

Our teachers however profeſſed to be great admirers of the ancients; but they were too proud or too lazy to imitate them. Did they ſatisfy themſelves with delivering a dry diſcourſe on philoſophy, containing ideas to which their pupils were ſtrangers? Did they reckon the buſineſs of the day over when the hour was run? Did they expect to convey new

and cramp notions in such a hurry into the young mind? Was this all that was done by Zeno in the stoa, by Plato in the academy, or by Epicurus in his gardens? No, they did much more; they threw aside all distant and magisterial airs; they put themselves on a level with their scholars; they walked and conversed familiarly with them; they led their minds in an easy and gradual manner to the perception of truth; and by conversing and repeating over and over the same point, made them thoroughly to understand it, and fixed it in their memories.

If the learned gentlemen we speak of had but considered how little they were able to recollect of a set discourse, or of the best sermon they ever heard, we are persuaded their method of teaching would have appeared imperfect even to themselves.

We mention but another cause of our having made so little progress, and it is this: We were set on too many different branches of knowledge at the same time; there was an odd sort of emulation industriously excited among us; it was esteemed honourable to attend many classes; it was thought shameful, and a mark of poverty, to be at few: Most of the students in the three upper classes were one hour at Latin, one at Greek, one at mathematics, and one or two at philosophy, all in the same day; and this method was continued through the whole session; by which means our attention was so divided, and our minds so distracted with a jumble of different things, that not one of them took hold of us; and it was next to impossible, that even those of us who wished and endeavoured to learn could succeed. This produced a lasting bad effect; an inclination to ramble in pursuit of knowledge stuck fast with us after we left the university. We had been taught to be fond of a fault into which from laziness or vanity we might naturally have fallen. We could not endure constancy and assiduity; we soon became weary of any

one thing; and as we had been long obliged and accuſtomed to do ſo, we ſkipped haſtily from one ſort of reading to another; an error which we have not yet been able thoroughly to correct. It is however manifeſt, that one thing at a time ought principally to have been inculcated; but we who ourſelves contrive ſchemes of profit, can eaſily ſee for whoſe benefit the multiplicity of private claſſes was firſt ſet on foot, and continues ſtill to be purſued.

The things we have ſlightly noticed will in ſome ſort account for the ſmall morſel of knowledge moſt of us brought from the ſeat of learning; and if we in the city have little erudition, our college-companions in the country have not more: We muſt, and we will affirm, that it is very rare to find a country gentleman bred at the ſame univerſity, who is in taſte and in extent of knowledge any degree above ourſelves, though they have had much more leiſure to purſue knowledge than ſuited with our active and buſy way of life; a preſumption, both that the things taught were improper, and that the method of teaching them laboured under ſome eſſential defect. Nay, we muſt be forgiven to ſay it, the learned profeſſors ſeem to be convinced of all this, and to be of the ſame opinion with ourſelves. They had lately two vacancies in the univerſity in their own diſpoſal: They looked round the country, and conſidered the abilities of all the clergymen and ſtudents who had been educated by themſelves; and among ſuch a great number, they could find none, that, even in their own opinion, were qualified to fill them. They made choice of a clergyman at a great diſtance, and of a ſtudent, who both of them had got their education at other univerſities; by which ſtep, they reflected all the honour they could on theſe two worthy men; but at the ſame time made an open and candid acknowledgment of the wretchedneſs of their plan, and of their own debility and ill ſucceſs at begetting

knowledge in the minds of their ſcholars; like frigid or impotent people, who are forced to adopt ſtrangers into their family, being incapable to beget any children of their own.

The faults in education we have mentioned have had bad effects on all ſorts of people who reſort or have reſorted to the univerſity, the clergy themſelves not excepted; and we own, they have had very bad effects upon ourſelves. The things taught are abſtruſe and dark; and it is little to be wondered at if we brought no knowledge of them away with us: If any of us brought away ſome knowledge of them, it is as little to be wondered if we ſoon loſt it: It was of ſuch a nature as to be eaſily forgot; it was ſo remote from common uſe, that it could not be remembered.

Though we have been at ſome pains to acquire a little knowledge from books and company, we are ſenſible, that in writing this letter we give but too manifeſt proofs of the defectiveneſs of our education. But ſtill we believe this was no ways owing to our want of natural capacity. Our city can boaſt, that it has produced as complete burgeſſes, and gentlemen of as refined and enlarged underſtandings, as any in the iſland; that is, when they were educated or improved at other places.

What we have ſaid is not with a view to depreciate an univerſity education, but to apologiſe for ourſelves, and to remove, Sir, your ſurpriſe at our little knowledge, and that ſo few of us ſend our ſons to the univerſity: And by this time we hope our apology will appear to be pretty complete; an apology which we have been forced to make. When we ſaw the laugh raiſed againſt our town in almoſt every company of ſtrangers, and heard ourſelves ſo often and ſo groundleſsly reproached for want of taſte, we judged it was but a piece of juſtice to ourſelves and our fellow-citizens, to open our minds to a gentleman

of your discernment and candour; and when the causes of what we are blamed for are laid open, though not near so fully as we could easily have done, equitable judges will cease to rally us. But if we shall be afterwards reproached upon the same score, we will beg leave in our turn openly to express our surprise, that it should ever be expected by any man of sober sense, that we should send our sons to waste a year or two of their lives in learning things so useless, absurd, and ridiculous, as technical logic and metaphysical speculations are confessed to be. We attend to them with reluctance and disgust; we have now hardly any traces of them in our minds; and can we think that our children will be more pleased with them, or remember them better?

The sensible part of mankind will, we hope, agree with us, that education ought to be calculated for the times we live in; that the aim of it should be to make the youth good men, and useful subjects; to prepare them to acquit themselves well in the particular business they are to live by, and to make a manly and decent figure in the companies they may be in. We think it manifest, that the musty and intricate parts of science we have mentioned, are no ways subservient to any of these ends.

We are generally a commercial people; except in matters of commerce, our ideas are pretty much circumscribed. The thoughts of great numbers among us move in no very wide circle, and never towards metaphysics. We figure not to ourselves any very wide or noble plan of education, which might dignify high life, but would be merely imaginary and unattainable in our circumstances: To these our education must be suitable. The things taught us ought to be such as immediately fit us for business; or are some way relative to our employment, or analogous to that range of thought to which our business may be supposed naturally to lead us; or which may adorn con-

verſation, and free us from the imputation of ignorance.

What theſe branches of knowledge are it is not difficult to ſee; practical mathematics, hiſtory in general, the hiſtory of our own country, and of thoſe in the neighbourhood, or with which we carry on commerce, natural hiſtory, geography, the hiſtory of commerce, and practical morality. Were there any doubt about the parts of ſcience that are propereſt to be taught us, it might be removed by obſerving, that thoſe of us who are ſtudious naturally apply to ſome of the branches we have juſt mentioned. Many in this city, without any advantages in their youth, have by their own good ſenſe and the dint of application, made a very conſiderable progreſs in the knowledge of hiſtory, belles lettres, and mathematics; but we know none who ever turned their heads to ideal entities, or to quibble ſyllogiſms. And if we had an opportunity of ſuch a courſe of education, our city would ſoon ſhow to the world, that the deſire and taſte of uſeful and attainable knowledge are as general among us as in any other city whatſoever, that is but equally populous.

Some eight or ten years ago, the principal and profeſſors of the Mariſhal College at Aberdeen, "in order to render the ſtudy of the ſciences more natural and progreſſive, did unanimouſly agree to depart from the old plan, and from that time forth to obſerve a very different order. They continued indeed to teach the claſſical learning as formerly, but inſtead of logic and metaphyſics, they appointed that year to be ſpent in teaching hiſtory, geography, chronology, an introduction to natural hiſtory; and that all the ſtudents of that claſs ſhould attend the leſſons of the profeſſor of mathematics: That the next year be employed in natural philoſophy, and the laws of matter and motion; in mechanics, hydroſtatics, pneumatics, optics, and aſtronomy; and that the laſt year of the courſe be allowed to the ſtudy of the abſtract ſciences,

pneumatology, morals, logic, or the art of reaſoning." A conſiderable improvement in the method of teaching, and which does honour to the gentlemen who appointed it.

We were very much encouraged when firſt we heard that the Mariſhal College had ſo far thrown back uſeleſs things, and accommodated their courſe to modern times. There appeared to be ſo much good ſenſe in what they had done, the alterations they had made were ſo viſibly advantageous and neceſſary, that we made no doubt but our univerſity would immediately follow ſo edifying an example, and would make further improvements upon it: But after we had waited for ſome time, we were entirely damped, when upon inquiry we were informed that the profeſſors were not to depart a hair-breadth from their plan and practice. They are it ſeems tied down either by cuſtom, or by inclination, or by rules, to obſerve a courſe of teaching, a great part of which is at this time of day uſeleſs and abſurd, and more eſpecially ſo with reſpect to us.

We do aſſure you, Sir, that when we ſaw that no relief was to be expected from the univerſity, we were in diſtreſs for our children, and felt, perhaps too ſtrongly, ſome emotions of indignation againſt the learned profeſſors, whom we looked upon as ſtubbornly tenacious of their own antiquated plan. We had frequent converſations with one another, expreſſing our grief that this was the caſe; and ſome of us were then pretty much inclined to provide a proper remedy, and to remove, at our own expence, the inconveniency to which our youth were expoſed. But through a multiplicity of buſineſs, and want of ſufficient harmony among ourſelves, we allowed our good purpoſes to cool; and with reſpect to ſo important a deſign, ſuffered ourſelves to relapſe into a lethargic inactivity, for which we frankly own we do not know what excuſe to make.

What we wiſhed for and intended was, to have in this city a ſchool or academy for inſtructing our youth in that knowledge which is proper to give them an early liking to religion and virtue; that which will fit them for buſineſs, and enable them to diſcharge the duties of life with honour, and appear to advantage in the world.

We were rouſed from our lethargy, when we ſaw the royal burgh of Perth beforehand with us in eſtabliſhing ſuch an academy as we wiſhed for. Senſible of the like diſadvantages we complain of, they have ſet us a pattern highly worthy of our imitation. The magiſtrates of that town, aſſiſted by a worthy clergyman in the place, have, like gentlemen of taſte, and men of the world at the ſame time, generouſly provided for the education of youth: An exertion of public ſpirit for which children and parents will eſteem and honour them at preſent, and which in time to come will be remembered as a monument of their good ſenſe and provident care of poſterity.

Their aim is, "to train up young people for buſineſs and active life; or to give ſuch a practical and compendious courſe of education as may in ſome meaſure qualify the gentleman, the merchant, or even the mechanic, to act with greater advantage in their reſpective ſtations: For this purpoſe the town-council have fixed upon two maſters, with each a ſalary of 50 l. beſides a gratuity of two guineas to be paid at the entry of each ſtudent to each maſter for the ſeſſion; which is to begin every year on the firſt of October, and to continue till the end of May.

One of the maſters is to deliver, 1. A ſhort hiſtory of philoſophy, and the riſe and progreſs of arts and ſciences; 2. A courſe of natural hiſtory, in which he gives an idea of botany and the animal economy; 3. A compendious view of poetry, rhetoric, logic, and moral philoſophy; and, 4. A courſe of chronology and civil hiſtory, ancient and modern, eſpecially the

hiſtory of Britain, with regard to its conſtitution, political intereſt, and commerce.

The other maſter is to teach, 1. Arithmetic; 2. Book-keeping; 3. A courſe of mathematics; and, 4. A courſe of natural philoſophy, illuſtrated by experiments. Each of the maſters is to finiſh his whole courſe in two ſeſſions, if poſſible; otherwiſe, what remains is to be gone through, at proper times, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion, without any further charge to the ſtudent. A writing-maſter is to attend the academy every day; and a teacher is to read the ſuperior Greek and Latin claſſics one hour every morning with ſuch of the ſtudents as would make further progreſs in the languages. Both theſe maſters to be paid by the ſtudents.

The inſtruments for the experimental part they are to purchaſe by contribution, and have already about 200 guineas ſubſcribed for that purpoſe. Their firſt ſeſſion begins in October." This is their plan. It is no doubt well contrived for that place. It has nothing in it that can be called uſeleſs or ſuperfluous; every thing to be taught has a tendency to the end propoſed. But it may be proper to vary a little from it, and to make ſome additions in an academy here.

Writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and alſo ſome parts of mathematics, are here taught in private ſchools; hiſtory, chronology, and moſt of the other parts mentioned in the Perth ſcheme, are hardly even attempted: The things taught are neceſſary to accompliſh a merchant's clerk; the things hitherto neglected would form the merchant for extenſive buſineſs and for manly converſation: And it is unqueſtionably by teaching the hiſtorical and philoſophical things that a ſchool either obtains or deſerves the name of an academy.

Writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping, may be left to be taught as before; and then two maſters will, with the greater ſucceſs, manage the remaining parts.

The province of the one will be, 1. Mathematics; 2. Geography; 3. Natural hiſtory; and, 4. Natural philoſophy, illuſtrated by experiments.

The province of the other will be nearly as in the plan of Perth; 1. Hiſtory of philoſophy, and the riſe and progreſs of arts and ſciences; 2. A compendious view of poetry, rhetoric, and moral philoſophy; 3. A courſe of chronology and civil hiſtory, ancient and modern, eſpecially the hiſtory of Britain.

The buſineſs of the one maſter will be, beſides mathematics, to teach the moſt entertaining and uſefu parts of natural philoſophy; that of the other will be chiefly hiſtory.

We are perſuaded that every impartial perſon will ſee at once the great and remarkable utility of ſuch a courſe of education, and the propriety of erecting ſuch an academy in this place, as ſoon as it can be conveniently done.

The town of Perth, however conſiderable in itſelf, is ſmall in compariſon of this populous, wealthy, and thriving city: The ſame encouragement that is given by them would be a very light burden upon us, whether it were given out of the revenues of the city, or contributed by a number of the moſt opulent citizens. But as a far greater number of ſtudents would attend the academy here, leſs ſalary to the teachers might ſerve the purpoſe; nay, there is great reaſon to believe, that if the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants will, as we hope, countenance the project, in a very few years little or no ſalary at all may be neceſſary.

This plan will interfere but little with that of the univerſity. The aims are quite different and diſtinct; what is deſigned by the academy is, to train up young people for buſineſs and active life; the aim of the univerſity is, to make ſcholars of them: And no doubt a great adept in ſcholaſtical learning is ſtill to be made by ſome ſkill in the learned languages, and by a long and laborious courſe of ſtudy. This we eaſily diſ-

cern; the clergy are ordinarily the people who ſtudy longeſt, and inquire deepeſt into ſcience; they do it, or begin to do it, at the univerſity; and when vacancies happen in univerſities, generally ſpeaking, they can only be ſupplied from the clergy, or by ſuch as have been educated to be clergymen. But the education we propoſe is compendious, and of general uſe; our ſchool will not keep any ſtudent from the univerſity, who is intent on making a great figure by deep and metaphyſical reſearches; and we are ſure the profeſſors are more diſintereſted than to wiſh any ſcholar ſhould conſume four or five years at their colleges without being better accompliſhed for converſation, or more prepared for the employment by which he propoſes to live.

We allow the excellence of profeſſed ſcholars, and ſhall leave it to colleges to fill their heads with materials for argumentation. We propoſe no ſuch thing; and therefore we perſuade ourſelves that the maſters, who love every branch of knowledge, will encourage our plan, and give us their beſt advice; and we ſubmit it to themſelves, if it would not be worthy the generoſity of ſuch patrons of ſcience to apply ſome portion of their large revenues to begin and carry on ſo uſeful and neceſſary a project.

But though, contrary to our intention, our plan ſhould ſeem to interfere a little with that of the univerſity, or threaten to keep ſome ſcholars from them, this ought not to diſcourage us, nor to put the profeſſors into any ill humour: Senſible that they need ſuch a motive to rouſe them to more activity, they ſhould, for their own honour and uſefulneſs, wiſh us ſucceſs. Both they and the teachers of the academy will the more exert themſelves, when they know that their honour and their intereſt too depend upon their activity and diligence.

It is a vulgar error to believe that teachers of religion, different from the eſtabliſhed one, are in all re-

ſpects hurtful. The reformed have forced the catholics to throw aſide many of their abſurdities, and have ſtirred them up to ſearch for more knowledge. The diſſenters in England have contributed to promote the learning and ſobriety of the churchmen; and perhaps even the ſeceders in Scotland have, by their ſtrictneſs, ſtimulated ſome of the eſtabliſhed clergy to a ſtrictneſs and diligence in their office beyond what they might otherwiſe have attained.

The maſters of an univerſity need ſuch a ſtimulus as much as the teachers of religion. When men have got into a ſettled way of life, lazineſs often gets the better of the good purpoſes they really had when they firſt entered into it. The ſenſe of duty and the love of fame are not able to overcome the love of eaſe. It is the opinion of ſome intelligent perſons, that if the eſtabliſhed clergy, inſtead of having ſalaries fixed for life, were hired from time to time, we ſhould get better ſermons from them than even thoſe we get at preſent. Whatever truth there may be in this, we are perſuaded there is much more in the remark, when applied to the maſters of a college. They have their fine lodgings, and they have their fixed ſalaries as the clergy have: But the clergy have one ſtrong motive to ſpur them on which the profeſſors have not; there are other clergymen juſt at hand, and if any one is very lazy and negligent, the people will leave him; but be the profeſſors ever ſo ſlothful, there is no college near to receive the ſtudents from them. Could the youth be taught by others at as little expence to their parents, the profeſſors would be at more pains, and beſtir themſelves in a very different manner.

We have ſaid thus much in general, to prevent ſome prejudices that might have been conceived againſt our plan, as if it were to interfere with the univerſity; and we have ſhown, that inſtead of being hurtful to that learned body of men, it will produce very ſalutary effects upon them; and we hope it may reaſon-

ably be presumed, that by the activity of our teachers, and the constant and close application of their scholars, more real and useful knowledge may be delivered and acquired in two years, than can be in six or seven in the disputatious and slow method usual in universities, where there are so few hours of teaching, and so many of diversion.

It has been observed already, that the principal points in view in the education of youth ought to be to form them to the love of religion and virtue, to render them serviceable to the government, useful to themselves and to that society to which they may more immediately belong, and agreeable in the ordinary commerce of life.

With respect to forming our youth to be good subjects, this plan needs make no provision. The inhabitants of this city, and of all the country around, are almost to a man well affected to the present government, and, were it necessary, would risk their fortunes and their lives in its support. Though we think young people ought to be made acquainted with the nature of that happy constitution under which we live; and this may be advantageously done, in reading to them the history of our own country.

But religion merits the most serious attention. It is judged to be a great defect in the ordinary education, that, except those who formally set themselves to the study of divinity, no care is taken to acquaint the students with religious principles, or to tincture them with a sense of piety. Religion takes faster hold of the mind, and has a stronger tendency to make men good and virtuous, than many seem to imagine. It is of infinite importance, with respect to the other world; and it is the most powerful restraint to preserve youth from those vices which they are but too ready to fall into; vices which are both heinous, and hinder them from making that figure in the world which they are entitled to make. A sense of God

makes the life ſober and regular. Parents ought to recommend religion to their children, and all teachers ſhould, both by example and inſtruction, ſhow their ſcholars that they have a high eſteem of religion, and a deep ſenſe of its importance to promote all the valuable intereſts of mankind.

We have lately ſeen a printed Sermon upon the Cauſes of the Decline of Religion, and we verily expected to find one thing aſſigned as a cauſe of that decline, which has been and continues to be much talked of and much lamented in this place, but which it ſeems the author did not advert to. If he had pleaſed, he might have mentioned the bad diſcipline of colleges, and the too little appearance of piety in the deportment of the maſters, which, though perhaps not ſo extenſive, is as real a cauſe of irreligion as any he has named. It produces very diſmal effects; the ſtudents, who afterwards apply to divinity, are cool and indifferent in the ſtudy of it; thoſe who apply to buſineſs, in town or country, bring along with them from the college a viſible averſion to religion; and with this pernicious contagion they infect the unwary who ſee or converſe with them.

The blunt ſaying of a plain and honeſt citizen, ſome time after public prayers began to be diſuſed in the univerſity, was quite agreeable to our ſentiments. When he was entering his ſon to one of the philoſophy claſſes, "I am indifferent, (ſaid he) I am indifferent about your nice diſputes: Teach my ſon religion and morality; teach him to govern his paſſions, and to love God and men: I had rather have him a pious and good man than poſſeſſed of all the curious philoſophy you can teach him in ſeven years."

Religion ought to be the ground-work of every courſe of education, and the principles inſtilled into the minds of young people ſhould be ſcriptural and ſound. This is certainly right in every view. We have known ſome young men who were marred in

their buſineſs, and rejected by thoſe who could have advanced them, merely becauſe they were much ſuſpected of entertaining ſome very looſe and unſound opinions.

But to conſider religion in the loweſt view, namely, as it is a ſcience and a ſubject of converſation, the youth ought certainly to be taught it. Every gentleman and merchant ſhould be able to talk about the tenets of that religion which is eſtabliſhed in his country: He ſhould know ſomething about the government and diſcipline of that church of which he is a member.

We ſhould weary out your patience, Sir, and protract this letter to an indecent length, were we to mention the uſe of every particular branch of literature propoſed to be taught by the projected plan; and were we to ſhow how well this plan will anſwer the remaining ends of education; namely, to prepare young people to be uſeful in life, and to appear as accompliſhed gentlemen in converſation. We will, in a few words, take notice of the advantages which a plan of this ſort has effectually to communicate the knowledge which is propoſed to be taught by it.

1. The things to be taught are all of them capable of being learned. They are commenſurate to the capacity of the young mind. Logical quiddities and metaphyſical ſubtleties are totally exterminated. Hiſtory, geography, the natural productions of a country, the manners of the people, the manufactures and commodities they trade in, may all be underſtood and remembered. Theſe are things uſeful to be known by a commercial people. And, by the way, we beg leave to ſay, that if merchants have not dipped much into metaphyſical and moral theories, they have by their voyages and travels furniſhed the world with a far more valuable ſort of knowledge; we mean that of the manners and cuſtoms of men, which is cer-

tainly more entertaining, and perhaps lays a surer foundation of morality than any of the cobweb schemes which have been so finely spun out of the imaginations of fanciful men, who have all their lives been immured within a college, and are quite destitute of the knowledge of the world.

2. We are almost certain of having the ablest teachers the nation can afford. They will readily be left to be chosen and employed by us. A place in an university is considered as easy, honourable, and lucrative. It is almost looked upon as a sinecure; it is not ordinarily the most ingenious and able for teaching that is pitched upon, but he who is connected, or whose friends are connected with, and can serve the men in power; and this appears to be growing more and more in fashion. When a vacancy happens, we hear every one saying, "Who will get this place? who has most interest with such a duke or such a lord?" A man's sufficiency is seldom or never mentioned; his ability is no recommendation of him; his total ignorance of the things he is to teach is no obstacle to his being preferred to the office: For twenty years past, there are not above one or two instances where one was either presented by the crown, or chosen by the faculty, merely or chiefly because he was thought best qualified to teach the class he was called to teach. If there are any who are fit to teach, by a proper encouragement we may have them.

But the directors of the academy, besides capacity to teach, must have other qualifications: They must be men of a grave and respectable character, who will add weight and importance to the things they teach, and attract the esteem and love of their scholars. The professors in our time, to do them justice, seemed well enough qualified in this respect. Several of the things taught by them were, as we have said, absolute futilities; and yet even in these things,

from the ſolemnity of the teachers, we at that time ſuſpected there might be ſome value in them, or perhaps their diligence in teaching conferred ſome imaginary worth on every thing they taught. We have often obſerved, that the earneſt application of teachers to their buſineſs procures them reputation, and adds weight to the moſt frivolous and inſignificant things that may be delivered by them. The men were guilty of no littleneſs or folly; they were men of exterior dignity, and we could not but pay ſome regard to every thing they ſaid or did. Teachers of that ſort, when the knowledge communicated by them is uſeful and ſuitable, do ſucceſsfully recommend knowledge and virtue; and by their regular, decent, and religious behaviour, they create a liking of religion in the hearts of their ſcholars.

3. The hours of teaching in the deſigned academy will be more than are allotted to it in colleges. It is abſurd and hypocritical for men to give high commendations of ſcience, and to uſe ſo ſlender pains, and ſpend ſo little time in teaching it. Men are become ſo lazy, and the deſire of literature is ſo feeble, that it is a wonder if knowledge of every ſort does not take its flight from amongſt us. The practice of univerſities is quite altered; not one half of the hours are employed in teaching that were one hundred, and not a third of them that were two hundred years ago. The preſident de Meſmes ſhowed a manuſcript of one of his anceſtors to Mr. Rollin, wherein that ancient gentleman gave an account of his ſtudies at the univerſity of Toloufe: "In 1545 (ſays he) I was ſent to Toloufe with my preceptor and brother to ſtudy law, under the direction of an old grey-haired man, who had travelled much. We got up at four, and having ſaid our prayers, we began our ſtudies at five, with our great books under our arms, and our writing-tables and candleſticks in our hands. We attended at lectures till ten without intermiſſion; then

we went to dinner, after having haſtily collated for one half-hour what we had writ down. After dinner, by way of diverſion, we read Sophocles, or Ariſtophanes, or Euripides, and ſometimes Demoſthenes, Tully, Virgil, and Horace. At one o'clock to our ſtudies again, at five we returned home, to repeat and turn to the places quoted in our books till after ſix, then we ſupped and read ſomewhat in Greek and Latin." Such pains and time were then beſtowed.

But in our univerſity ſeveral of the maſters do not teach above one hour, and others of them but two hours a-day. Do they really expect to convey the knowledge of any thing ſo haſtily, eſpecially of the dark and intricate points they uſually teach? And we cannot but obſerve, that they treat their ſtudents as if they were men and children at the ſame time. A noble lord made a donation of the college-garden to the maſters and to the ſtudents to walk in for their health and recreation. The ſtudents, even thoſe who entered to the lower claſſes, it is pretended, were then men, and had diſcretion not to deſtroy the beauty or policy of the garden. They are now very young when they enter to theſe claſſes, and the maſters have deprived all the ſtudents of the liberty of ſtepping into the garden, which by the donation they had and ſtill have a legal title to. In another reſpect they treat the very youngeſt of their ſcholars as if they were full-grown men; they teach them an hour or two, and then ſend them adrift; and they are ſo thoughtleſs, are ſo little looked after, and have ſo much time to play, that the leſſon ſo haſtily read over to them is neglected and immediately forgot. In the caſe of the garden, it argues the ſuperiority of the maſters to treat their ſcholars as mere children; in the matter of teaching, it contributes to their eaſe to treat them as if they were men.

The teaching for ſo few hours in colleges has a very fatal effect upon children: By getting ſo much

diverſion, they contract ſettled habits of inattention, and their minds are ſo diſſipated, that it is oftentimes found impoſſible to fix them; by which means many have been ruined, and could never afterwards, by all the arts and entreaties of their parents, be brought to apply themſelves in earneſt to any buſineſs whatſoever.

Common ſenſe would dictate, that the two lower claſſes, at leaſt, ought to be treated as children are in other ſchools; they ought to be kept as it were under the rod, and obliged to apply to their buſineſs for four or five hours a day: And ſo many hours of attendance, at the feweſt, ſhall, it is propoſed, be given by every teacher in the deſigned academy.

4. Our teachers ſhall ſtudy the genius, and learn the views of each particular ſcholar, and direct them to a proper courſe of reading when they are at home. We ſuffered ſo much ourſelves through want of ſuch direction, that we will be at the utmoſt pains that our children may not ſuffer as we have done. The teachers will put thoſe books into their hands which are moſt accommodated to their genius, and relative to the buſineſs they are deſigned for. They will converſe often and familiarly with them, and twice every week will, in an eaſy manner, inquire into the progreſs they have made, and cauſe them to make obſervations themſelves upon what they have been reading. Poſſeſſed of ſuch accompliſhments as we have mentioned, they will be in no dread of being puzzled by the queſtions that may be put to them by ſprightly lads of fourteen or fifteen, nor under any neceſſity of concealing their ignorance by an affected gravity, and entrenching themſelves behind a form.

5. To confuſe or diſtract the minds of the youth by different ſtudies at the ſame time, will be avoided with the moſt ſcrupulous care. All poſſible art will be uſed to make what is the immediate and principal ſtudy of the ſcholars amuſing and delightful to

them: The other things, that are allowed them by way of diverſion, will always have ſome relation to the one thing which is at that particular time the chief object of their purſuit.

Theſe are certainly great and viſible advantages which ſcholars at the academy will enjoy above thoſe who attend the univerſity. The things to be taught are plain and important. The beſt qualified men will teach them. The hours of attendance will be more than double thoſe that are given at the univerſity. The teachers will converſe familiarly with the ſcholars, and direct them to a proper courſe of reading. Confuſion of ſtudies will be cautiouſly avoided, and all will be done in a clear and expreſſive Engliſh ſtyle.

They propoſe at Perth, no doubt for very good reaſons in their ſituation, to have a teacher of the ſuperior claſſics. We confeſs we do not ſee the propriety or neceſſity of ſuch a teacher in the academy here. We think it ought to be an Engliſh academy, and that the chief deſign of it ſhould be to train up young people for buſineſs. Indeed many of our citizens have found, that their children had leſs Latin when they left the humanity claſs than when they entered to it; and every body is convinced, that in the two years ſpent at Greek and Latin in the univerſity, a very poor proficiency is made in compariſon of what might well be expected. But this great evil would be beſt remedied by childrens ſtaying a year or even two years longer at the grammar-ſchool; in which two years they would certainly acquire more ſkill in the learned languages than they could poſſibly do in ſix or ſeven at the univerſity: And if the rector can diſcharge his preſent office, and alſo teach a ſuperior claſs, we are informed he is very well qualified to do it. But if it is neceſſary there be another to teach the higher claſſics along with him, a very particular ſearch ſhould be made to find a proper

perſon; he muſt be a man of taſte and imagination: It is not difficult to find one who can drudge and labour, and by the help of grammars and dictionaries can hammer out the conſtruction, and heavily tell his ſcholars the meaning of an author; theſe are commodities not rare to be found, but ſuch a one is far from anſwering to the idea we have of a teacher of the ſuperior claſſics: He ſhould be a man of ſenſe and genius, of ſpirit and vivacity, who feels the author's ſenſe, who imagines himſelf in the place of the poet, and is warm with his fire; who diſcerns, who ſees and feels the beauty of the hiſtorian's deſcription. In ſhort, one who feels the very ſentiments of the hiſtorian or poet, and transfuſes them into the minds and hearts of his pupils. We would have him at the ſame time to have diſcretion enough to paſs over ſeveral parts of Ovid, Horace, and Catullus, which, were they taught in a ſpirited manner, might be dangerous to young people. A dull phlegmatic teacher may ſeem to have ſome advantage in this reſpect: He can read over the whole of Horace, and not miſs a line from beginning to end, without a ſmile: He can explain and comment upon the moſt licentious paſſage without feeling himſelf, and without exciting in his ſcholars any diſorderly emotion; but then he feels as little and makes as little impreſſion with reſpect to any the moſt beautiful picture or ſtriking deſcription: In reading the paſſages of a tragedy or epic poem, which ſhake the human frame, and fill the throbbing breaſt with the alternate emotions of admiration, terror, pity, and diſtreſs, his heart is quite unmoved, inſenſible, and callous. Such a one can never teach to advantage, nor excite admiration of ancient learning in the minds of youth: They weary, and think it is doing penance to hear him.

A teacher of ſpirit and taſte fires his pupils with the love of claſſical learning: And though it is di-

greſſing a little from our principal point, we cannot but take notice, that ſuch a teacher would be of unſpeakable advantage to thoſe in higher life than we are. If gentlemens ſons made a competent progreſs in claſſical learning, and were beſides inſtructed in the ſeveral things propoſed to be taught at the academy, we aver they would have a far more complete and genteel ſchool education than has ever been publicly given in this country.

And ſuch a teacher of Greek and Latin ſhould be carefully ſought for, on account of thoſe ſtudents who are deſigned for any of the learned profeſſions, and eſpecially of thoſe who are to be clergymen: For as education is ſo tedious, and is become ſo expenſive, we think that divines may and ought to be trained up in this method. When they are well founded in the languages, they may by proper direction be taught as much knowledge, and to expreſs themſelves with as much propriety, preciſion, and force, as divines ordinarily attain, in one third part of the time which they would be obliged to attend a divinity college: And if they were found to be as knowing as college ſtudents, we do not ſee but preſbyteries might get over any difficulty in licenſing them; provided always their morals be good and their principles orthodox. For which purpoſe we would have the gentleman who has the direction of their ſtudies found above all ſuſpicion, even though he ſhould not be ſo deep in learning as we could wiſh.

For it would ſeem, that in divinity it is the genius or the application of the ſtudent, and not the ability of the profeſſor, that produces the effect. We have heard ſome of our divinity profeſſors much run-down, and others as much applauded; but we could never ſee this difference by the effects of their teaching, or that thoſe who ſtudied under the weak profeſſor were a whit inferior to thoſe who were the ſcholars of the able one: Nor indeed do we diſcern that theſe preach-

ers appear worſe in the pulpit or in company who were never at a divinity college at all, ſeveral of whom we know and eſteem.

In things that relate to divinity, the learned profeſſors ſeem to think in this manner: For three or four times, they have choſen Hebrew profeſſors, who, except the letters, were ſaid to know no more of the language; and church-hiſtory, though they have a profeſſor of it, has not been taught for many years paſt: It is ſuppoſed, that one may teach Hebrew without knowing it; and that divines may know church-hiſtory without being taught it: Juſt as the little or great ability of the divinity profeſſor makes no alteration upon the ſcholar.

But if it is ſo with reſpect to divinity and what relates to it, the caſe is quite different with reſpect to a profeſſor of mathematics: Whether he has or has not the art of teaching, is manifeſtly known by the great or ſmall proficiency which his ſcholars make. It is impoſſible that thoſe who ſtudy at one univerſity ſhould be generally good mathematicians; and that thoſe who ſtudy at another ſhould generally know nothing of the matter, if the profeſſors were equally ſkilful and diligent in teaching. The gentleman who has long taught in this univerſity has unqueſtionably great ability; but whether he has run over the propoſitions in too great a hurry, or has employed too few hours in teaching, it is a well-known fact, which we are ſorry to mention, that he has had little ſucceſs in teaching: There are extremely few who have been made mathematicians by him. We mention this, becauſe if the two maſters under whoſe direction the academy is propoſed to be ſhall be thought to have too much to do, there may be, without any additional expence, a teacher of mathematics alone. If he has only the countenance of the magiſtrates, ſuch numbers will attend him, that he will not need a halfpenny of ſalary: And if he has the

art of teaching (which he muſt have, otherwiſe it were better not to have him), we may reaſonably expect, in a very few years, to furniſh out a choice of able mathematicians to the univerſity, and ſave them the trouble of going to a great diſtance in queſt of one.

The plan, as we have ſpoken of it, extends to fewer parts of literature than that of Perth; yet we perſuade ourſelves every one muſt be convinced of the advantage and neceſſity of it; and if poſſible we wiſh to ſee it eſtabliſhed, or at leaſt begun this very ſeaſon.

Many branches of manufactures have been introduced, and many have been puſhed as far by the inhabitants of this city as has been done by any in the kingdom; and if we ſhould make no proviſion for the inſtruction of our youth, when ſuch proviſion is ſo neceſſary, we ſhould but too juſtly deſerve reproach.

But from the opulence of this city, we cannot but indulge the hope, that the academy here will be more extenſive than that which has been agreed upon by the people of Perth. We wiſh the French language was taught more perfectly than has yet been done here: It has become almoſt an univerſal language, and the knowledge of it is particularly uſeful to trading people; and eſpecially we wiſh that there were an Engliſh belles lettres education. Except to gentlemen, and to thoſe in the learned profeſſions, the learned languages are not neceſſary. A man may make himſelf maſter of an immenſe variety of knowledge without any other language but Engliſh: And of how great importance would it be if young people were made acquainted with the beauties of the Engliſh poets and moſt elegant proſe writers, and were taught ſomething of compoſition in their own language. To know their own language well is of more importance to them than even the moſt full

and accurate knowledge of Greek and Latin: While they applied to the ſtudy of it, they would be taught not words but things, not ſtyle only but to ſee and feel the moſt noble ſentiments, and to expreſs themſelves with elegance and force.

It is really aſtoniſhing that the ſtudy of the national language has been ſo much neglected, and that a courſe of education, proper for men of buſineſs, entirely in Engliſh, has never been ſet on foot. If we were not accuſtomed to ſee the thing every day practiſed, it would appear abſurd to the laſt degree, that children, who are to be put to buſineſs as ſoon as their age permits, ſhould ſpend five or ſix years in learning dead languages; languages, which it is foreſeen they will immediately forget when they go from ſchool, and which, though they could be remembered, can never be of any uſe to them. If that time were employed in conveying ideas into their minds, as they are capable to receive them, and in teaching them the Engliſh language, they would have more knowledge, and they would acquire a great facility of writing and ſpeaking what they know. If they were firſt taught to pronounce juſtly, and were then ſet to compoſe little things, and to imitate the ſtyle of Mr. Addiſon, Dr. Swift, and ſome others, the letters of men of buſineſs would appear to much more advantage than ſome of them do at preſent. There would not be ſo frequent complaints that people do not write to their friends at a diſtance; the real cauſe of which oftentimes is, that they have neither a competent ſtock of ideas, nor a ſufficient command of language. To write a letter of news, of friendſhip, of thanks, or congratulation, is above their capacity, or is at beſt a tedious and difficult taſk. If children were properly inſtructed in their mother-tongue, they would not, when they became men, faulter and heſitate in ſpeech, but would expreſs their meaning with eaſe and beauty.

The taſte which has been raiſed at Edinburgh by

Mr. Sheridan ſhould excite our emulation. The parts of ſcience we have mentioned before are abſolutely neceſſary; this laſt is alſo highly uſeful and highly ornamental.

The plan, Sir, which we have laid before you, is neither chimerical nor difficult to be executed; it is eaſy, advantageous, neceſſary, and not expenſive; and we cannot ſuffer ourſelves to fear but that our city will immediately agree to it, or to ſomething like it: For our own part, we have merely ſtudied the honour and advantage of our fellow-citizens. We deſire no commendation for having mentioned to ſeveral of them the great advantages of ſuch an academy. If we are in the right, you will be able to judge by this Letter, which you are at liberty to uſe as you pleaſe. There are no doubt others of our citizens who are both able to form a plan that is more complete, and alſo to forward the execution of it; let them have the whole praiſe, but let the thing be done, and done as ſoon as poſſible.

And we think ourſelves ſure that it will be done, when we conſider the merit and vigilance of the honourable gentlemen who are our preſent magiſtrates. One of them is illuſtrious in his own city, is well known at a great diſtance, and has been long reſpected by thoſe in the higheſt rank; he had a college education, but ſoon ſaw the impropriety and defectiveneſs of it; and, by a ſtrength of judgment, a depth of penetration, and retentiveneſs of memory peculiar to himſelf, he attained a knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of his country, which is ſeldom to be found in profeſſed lawyers: He has acquired ſuch variety of knowledge, moral, hiſtorical, political, and commercial, and is ſo diſtinct and accurate upon every point, that few burgeſſes or others in the iſland can pretend to excel him. What is propoſed to be taught at the academy is but the rudiments of a few of theſe parts, in each of which he is a maſter.

We have another gentleman in public office, who is alſo juſtly looked upon as a very extraordinary and happy genius. His ſkill in commerce is extenſive; his invention of new branches of manufacture fertile; his activity to promote them unwearied; his generoſity and public ſpirit are diſcerned and honoured by ſeveral of the nobility, and by many of the gentry and men of taſte, who court his company: He is poſſeſſed of ſuch accompliſhments in ſcience and taſte, which, by a quick diſcernment, he ſaw the value of, and acquired, that did he not by a ſingular greatneſs of mind acknowledge the diſadvantages of his education, hardly any body that converſes with him would ſuſpect but that he had been converſant in literary contemplations from his earlieſt youth.

We have beſides many citizens whoſe knowledge is extenſive, and whoſe elegance of taſte is undiſputed. The magiſtrates and they will heartily concur to promote ſo uſeful a deſign: They will be convinced, that among a numerous youth there are, comparatively ſpeaking, but few who in ſcience and taſte can hope to ſucceed as they have happily done, unleſs an early and proper method be taken to facilitate the acquiſition of knowledge, and to teach them the elements of theſe parts which are of univerſal uſe.

For that reaſon, ſuch an academy as we have given a ſketch of is ſo uſeful and neceſſary, that there ought to be one of them in every populous city within Great Britain: And certainly people will ſome time or other open their eyes, and not ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by mere ſounds, nor imagine that becauſe a thing is called an univerſity or ſeat of learning, that therefore it will convey every ſort of uſeful knowledge; when they ſee, or may ſee ſo plainly, that the knowledge taught is unſuitable to ſuch people as we are; and, were it ſuitable, no ſuitable time and pains are employed to teach it.

And we ſay one thing further in behalf of our city,

which to you may appear incredible, and yet nothing is more true. It is the nearneſs of the univerſity to us, that is the cauſe of our little knowledge, and that an academy like that now projected did not long ago take place. We expected from time to time that the profeſſors would turn from intricate and uſeleſs to uſeful and plain parts of ſcience, and teach them with care and diligence. Had it not been for this vain imagination, we are verily perſuaded Glaſgow would have ſet an example to Perth, inſtead of Perth's having ſet one to Glaſgow.

We have at preſent the beſt hopes, and imagine that we are within reach of having the reproach of our want of taſte, and that we are careleſs about the education of our children, entirely wiped away. We think ourſelves as ſure as we can be of any thing that is future, that, if this propoſal is properly executed, within eight or ten years every ſtranger and every diſcerning perſon will obſerve a ſenſible and general improvement in taſte and knowledge among the inhabitants of this city, and that from thenceforth there will not be the leaſt ground for any ſuch ſurpriſe as you expreſſed.

But if after all nothing is done, we ſhall ſuffer you and every one to rally our citizens as you pleaſe; and as your raillery, though poignant, is genteel, ſo far from avoiding your company, we will court it; and judging ourſelves unconcerned, we will with patience, perhaps with pleaſure, hear your burleſque without opening our mouths.

Indeed, if our city ſhall relapſe into a lethargy, as before; if there be not ſenſe enough to ſee the utility, or if there be not authority, or ſpirit, or numbers enough to forward the execution of a project ſo neceſſary and eaſy, we muſt acknowledge, that, notwithſtanding all our partiality to ourſelves and our citizens, we ſhould not know what to ſay further in our defence. We ſhould, we fear, be forced to con-

feſs that we betrayed ſome ſymptoms of that dulneſs, and that careleſſneſs about our children, for which we have been ſo often blamed; or that we miſtook our childrens intereſt, and eſteemed a ſmall ſaving of money to be of more importance to them than the ample fortunes they might be fitted to acquire, and all the great and ſhining improvements in taſte and ſcience, which by a proper courſe of ſchool education they might eaſily make.

But if unhappily our city ſhall not be rouſed to action by the example of Perth, if our principal people, being too buſy and careful about other things, ſhall neglect or poſtpone a thing ſo needful, we make not the leaſt doubt but that other populous towns in the kingdom, where ſuch an academy may be as neceſſary as it is here, will act a more generous and ſpirited part, and will wiſely ſacrifice a ſmall expence to form the minds of their children, to accompliſh them for buſineſs, and to make a gentleman-like figure in converſation.

Meantime uſeful arts and valuable knowledge will flouriſh at Perth. In a commercial ſenſe, at leaſt, Perth will be the modern Athens of this country; numbers of young men, properly educated there, will ſpring abroad, and make a figure in the ſeveral trading towns of the nation, and particularly in this great city. Strangers will, by the ſuperiority of their parts, acquire great fortunes; they will lead and conduct the affairs of this city, and be reſpected by the nobility and gentry, while our ſons, free born citizens, through want of education, will be humble and tame under the ſway of greater merit, and make no becoming figure.

Theſe are events eaſily foreſeen. The example of Perth is not that which ſhould chiefly influence us; it is the neceſſity, the viſible neceſſity of the education propoſed. Let the Perth ſcheme be ill contrived, let it be worſe executed; ſuppoſe there be ſome,

who, from ſordid love of lucre, are ſquinting at it with an evil eye, and wiſhing to blaſt it with their noxious breath; ſuppoſe they and their emiſſaries be ſtriving to get hold of this hopeful infant, to cruſh it, or to ſtifle it in its cradle; nay, ſuppoſe, contrary to all probability, that its frightened and ſelf-intereſted enemies ſhould be able with their poiſoned arrows to reach its vitals, and to lay its head in the duſt; it is certainly poſſible to contrive the plan of a manly and genteel education for men of buſineſs, and to ſecure the execution of it, in this place. There are here a great number who have been long and deeply practiſed in commerce, who have great natural and acquired abilities, and are poſſeſſed of thoſe attainments which are uſeful and which are ornamental. Theſe gentlemen are well qualified to direct the education of young people who are deſigned for buſy and active life. And we muſt agree, that, till this be done, our city will not make that figure in Great Britain which it is capable of making, nor appear with a luſtre in proportion to its trade, its wealth, and its greatneſs.

On the diſagreeable ſuppoſition that no academy is ſet on foot here, and to prevent, were it in their power, the diſagreeable and well foreſeen effects of that neglect, there are not wanting a number of judicious citizens who ſeem determined to ſend their ſons to be educated at Perth, if they ſhall be informed that the plan agreed upon there is but as well executed as it is contrived. We hope and aſſure ourſelves that they will not be under the neceſſity of ſending them out of our own city for that purpoſe. At any rate, you know our mind by this letter. We hope to be exempted from your ſatire; or, if you ſometimes play it off in our company, we will conſider it as not intended perſonally againſt ourſelves; unwilling however to join you in it, even though we ſee it juſt, we will beg leave to be ſilent.

You ſee, Sir, that we pay all poſſible deference to

the univerſity. It has been long, and continues to be a loud complaint in ſeveral kingdoms of Europe, that the ſcience retailed at univerſities is unprofitable and dangerous. Wiſe men have judged, that if ſuch ſcience has taken any hold of young people, the wiſeſt thing they can do is to unlearn and forget it as ſoon as poſſible. Perſonages of the higheſt rank and merit have ſeen cauſe to be thankful or well ſatisfied, either that they never were at an univerſity, or that by ſome favourable accidents they were ſoon removed from it. And we know ſenſible men among ourſelves, who judge, that it would be much better for the intereſt of learning, that every part of ſcience were left to be taught by private academies and private teachers; that there ought to be a total ſubverſion of the univerſities of this nation; and that the price of the buildings, together with the revenues and ſalaries, ought to be applied to augment the livings of the clergy, or to pay the national debt. On the other hand, we think they ſhould rather be allowed to continue as they are. They are monuments of antiquity. We conſider what good they may have done of old, when the courſe taught by them was ſuitable to thoſe remote times. There are valuable public libraries in them which it were pity not to take care of. Our city may have influence to procure places in them for the ſuperannuated teachers of the academy, who by their aſſiduous and uſeful labour will highly merit ſuch ſalaries and ſuch eaſe in their old age. They are uſeful in ſome reſpects, and they may change their way of teaching, and become ſo in more. We find our hearts warm towards our own univerſity, and towards the maſters that taught us; with all their defects we loved them, and we reverence their memory. We remember, with a mixture of regret and pleaſure, the idle and happy days we ſpent about the college; how we went ſauntering up and down at our eaſe, with our gowns, the badges

of ſcholars, about us; though it appears to you, and if we would we cannot get it denied, that we received but a poor pittance of inſtruction.

We wiſh the college to ſubſiſt and thrive, *eſto perpetua*. The crown or the faculty may now and then pitch upon an able teacher educated at our academy or elſewhere, whom we would wiſh our poſterity might have the opportunity of being inſtructed by, juſt as we at preſent have the opportunity of the ethic claſs, to which many of our citizens will ſend their ſons after their courſe in our academy is finiſhed. When they have firſt learned uſeful and neceſſary things, thoſe of them who are in eaſy circumſtances, and have genius, will be entertained with the ingenious and amuſing theory of ſo eminent a maſter.

If there is any expreſſion in this letter which may ſeem to convey a too diminutive idea of univerſities, we beg you will look upon it as a puſh made in neceſſary ſelf-defence, and aſcribe it to our eagerneſs to ſcreen ourſelves and our fellow-citizens from the point of your raillery, and that of others, which has been often and keenly levelled againſt us. With great reſpect we are,

Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervants.

Glaſgow,
Oct. 1761.

LETTER

CONTAINING

REMARKS UPON A PAMPHLET

Concerning the Neceſſity of erecting an Academy at Glaſgow.

Gentlemen,

YOUR pamphlet concerning education hath, as you muſt have heard, made ſome noiſe in the city. Many have approved of it; ſome have cenſured parts of it; and there are others who have railed at you, and condemned it by the lump. However, I think you need not be much diſcouraged, that public orations are begun to be delivered againſt you, ſet off with abundance of high-ſounding and frightful epithets; epithets, however well choſen and mannerly they might appear, with whatever attention they were liſtened to by the grave, learned, and admiring audience, are not deciſive arguments. If you have heard of them, I think you may well ſlight them; if you have not, I would not adviſe you to be at any trouble to inquire about them: Eruptions of zeal and rage may be very harmleſs; and at any rate it is beſt to let them alone, and ſuffer them to ſubſide of themſelves.

I got the pamphlet ſo ſoon as it reached Glaſgow: I have peruſed it I believe with more than ordinary attention, and I am tempted to do a thing which is not a little out of my way: As an impartial byeſtander, I am going to make a few remarks upon your letter, but with a freedom ſimilar to that which you have aſſumed. You cannot be offended reaſonably, if yourſelves are treated in the like manner as you have ventured to treat others. I ſet down things as

they occur to me, without following your order, or even attempting to obſerve any ſort of method.

But firſt I will frankly acknowledge that there is nothing extravagant in the plan which you propoſe; it might very eaſily be executed, and would be of unſpeakable advantage. This is not the firſt time I have thought of the matter: I firmly believe that if ſome ſuch courſe of education had been delivered for theſe fifty or ſixty years paſt, our country at this day would have been in a ſtate of improvement which it cannot arrive at for many years to come.

But the propoſed academy would be far more complete, if ſome of the genteel exerciſes, ſuch as horſemanſhip, were taught at it. This, as I have heard, is already done at Perth, and ſurely it is as neceſſary, and may be done as eaſily, at Glaſgow. Though the art of ſitting firmly and gracefully on horſeback has been much neglected, it is a valuable and manly piece of education. The things you mention are very ſuitable to us; but if they are now to be taught, proviſion ſhould be made for teaching this alſo.

I muſt alſo grant to you, that the things taught, and the manner of teaching them practiſed at preſent in univerſities, are liable to much cenſure. The caſe is ſufficiently underſtood, even by thoſe who are unwilling to confeſs the truth of it. Without all queſtion, education might eaſily be put upon a much more advantageous footing. I have heard ſo many good judges, and indeed every one that I converſe with, of this opinion, that I ſuppoſe there are but very few who will offer to diſpute the point with you. By all that I can learn, it is almoſt the univerſal opinion in this place, that if we would expect any general benefit from a courſe of ſchool education, either the plan that is purſued in the univerſity muſt be greatly altered, or ſome other proper method of education muſt be fallen upon.

Remark 1. But whether your letter is wrote in the

propereſt ſtrain to obtain either the one or the other of theſe ends, is with me and ſeveral others a very great queſtion. You have, it is apprehended, indulged yourſelves in too much acrimony of expreſſion, which, the more foundation there is for it, the perſons concerned will the leſs excuſe. The ſenſe which themſelves have of the inutility of what they teach, will appear in proportion to the ſtrength of their reſentment; but this brings about no change. With too little reſerve you have told them their faults; and, as is uſual, they will be the more tenacious of them: They will be at the more pains to defend or palliate what is manifeſtly wrong, and perhaps will affect to ſet the higheſt value upon the very things you chiefly blame: They will avail themſelves of the keenneſs of your ſtyle, complain of rude uſage, maintain that all you ſay proceeds from mere ſpleen, and continue to teach juſt as they did before.

When in any writing the faults of men are openly cenſured, the perſons aimed at will cry out againſt the performance as ſcurrilous, be it expreſſed in ever ſo modeſt terms. But, to be plain with you, there are ſome paſſages in your letter, which I am ſure will appear to be ſatirical. That way of writing has, no doubt, been eſteemed uſeful to laugh or ſhame men out of their follies; but, to gain ſo good an end, it had need to be managed by a very delicate hand. To reproach a man too roughly, even for his real faults, is to make a ſatire againſt one's ſelf.

You had been ſtung with indignation to ſee yourſelves laughed at, on account of your ignorance, and you preſently begin to think of an apology; but, in my opinion, before you had ſat down to write your letter, you ought firſt to have been in a meek and calm temper, and to have uſed none but ſoft and ſoothing expreſſions; and it is well if with all this art you could have ſucceeded. It is no eaſy matter to prevail with a ſociety to rectify meaſures, or to de-

part from what promotes their intereſt or contributes to their eaſe. "To abandon uſurped power," ſays a celebrated hiſtorian, ſpeaking of a certain convocation, "to renounce lucrative error, is a ſacrifice which the virtue of individuals has, on ſome occaſions, offered to truth; but from any ſociety of men no ſuch effort can be expected. The corruptions of a ſociety, recommended by common utility, and juſtified by univerſal practice, are viewed by its members without ſhame or horror, and reformation never proceeds from themſelves, but is always forced upon them by ſome foreign hand." It was to be feared, that, at any rate, the behaviour of the learned ſociety might have been ſuitable to this unfeeling and inflexible ſpirit: But much more is this to be feared now, after you have irritated them by, I will ſay, your indelicate, and, in ſome inſtances at leaſt, unneceſſary ſatire.

Thus have you tempted the univerſity to make no alterations in their teaching; nor have you taken the moſt likely way to get the academy erected. It is much queſtioned whether it was prudent in you to take ſuch particular notice of two eminent gentlemen in this city. You judged that this would at leaſt no way mar the end you propoſe; but were you right in that judgment? or were you under a miſtake? Have we not many other able men? Why celebrate two of your fellow-citizens only, and overlook all the reſt? Will not theſe laſt, will not every one of them who is of a narrow turn of mind be provoked? Though they may be convinced of the utility of the ſcheme propoſed, will they not throw all the obſtructions they can in the way, that the propoſal may not ſucceed? Have you not unwarily given them ſome cauſe to do ſo? Is it to be expected that every one will advance a public-ſpirited meaſure, when he himſelf has been unhandſomely treated? And is it not a great pity that an uſeful deſign ſhould be marred or retarded by the uncatiouſneſs of thoſe who were for-

ward enough to undertake, and seemed to be in earnest to promote it?

Besides, it is doubted whether you were the proper persons to propose a reform in the matter of education. If the proposal had come from some of our most wealthy and experienced citizens, even though it had been wrote with no more spirit, it would have had a far better chance to be put in execution. Many a good motion has been rejected, because of the low condition or character of him who made it. Some great and happy changes may have been begun and effected by weak instruments; but our people of note will hardly espouse or forward a scheme proposed by those who are supposed to be far inferior to our middle-rate citizens. It is delicate to speak out on this point; you will understand my meaning.

Remark 2. In your description of a teacher of the classics, you seem to insinuate that there either has been formerly, or exists at present, some professor who reads and explains every part of Horace, without missing a line; at least, unless I and many others are mistaken, this must be your meaning. Now, this I look upon as a groundless and malicious calumny. I flatly contradict it: I affirm that it is impossible there ever was or can be any such teacher. There was none so indiscreet in my time; and if any such extraordinary person had started up since, I think I must have heard of him. Who can believe that any person should have so small a share of delicacy or common sense as to explain the Epodes, and several passages of the Satires of Horace, before a numerous meeting of young men? And if one did actually read such smutty passages, could he be so far master of himself as to read them without emotion? You describe a man, just like some king or emperor I have read of, who, it is said, heard of his wife's being killed, without feeling or discovering either pity, or sorrow, or anger, or joy. I must say you have been in some odd tem-

per of mind when you wrote what no man will ever believe.

Remark 3. I am of opinion, that before you had blamed the courſe of philoſophy taught at the univerſity, you ſhould firſt have made a full enumeration of the ſeveral things delivered in that courſe. This at leaſt would have been fair dealing, and hereby your readers would have been better able to judge whether your cenſure is well or ill founded.

The courſe of philoſophy is finiſhed in three ſeſſions; one at logic, one at ethics, and one at natural philoſophy.

The profeſſor of logic begins with reading a little Greek; then teaches terms, propoſitions, ſyllogiſms, and the other forms of arguing; then ſomething about ideas, and the diviſion of them; and next proceeds to metaphyſics.

The profeſſor of ethics gives a ſketch of logic and metaphyſics; then a courſe of pneumatology, and his ſyſtem of morality, and juriſprudence.

The profeſſor of natural philoſophy explains Sir Iſaac Newton's three laws of nature; then the five mechanic powers; gives an idea of hydroſtatics; and demonſtrates a few propoſitions in optics and aſtronomy.

By this full view of the courſe, it would have appeared that neither hiſtory, nor geography, nor chronology are among the things taught; and perhaps ſome part of your reaſoning might have been ſuperſeded, or at leaſt it would have carried in it more evidence and force.

I could have furniſhed you with a deciſive proof that ſome of the things you judge to be of ſo much importance were not always excluded from the courſe of philoſophy taught in this univerſity. Looking lately among old books, I got in my hand a manuſcript of the lectures delivered more than a hundred years ago, and I found in it a pretty accurate treatiſe of

geography, and another of chronology. Under this laſt head, pains had been taken to cauſe the ſtudents underſtand the epact, the golden number, the cycle of the ſun, the indictions, the olympiads, the æra of Nabonaſſar, and the Julian period. Some of theſe are very ſimple things; but now boys, when they leave the college, do not underſtand them, and perhaps have never heard of them: So that long ago ſome of theſe very branches of ſcience were in vogue, which at this day are eſteemed important. For what cauſe they were left out, and whether the things taught inſtead of them are of leſs or more value; or whether, when almoſt every other art is improved, the art of teaching in univerſities has dwindled and decayed,—I had rather leave to be inveſtigated and determined by you, than run the riſk of paſſing a wrong judgment myſelf.

Remark 4. I find ſeveral people are of opinion, that you inveigh too ſeverely againſt logic. They think that you decry the art of reaſoning, and arraigning ones thoughts in a natural order. They allege, that in ſo ſhort a diſcourſe you have ſometimes uſed weak arguments, and have betrayed ignorance of method oftener than once; and that it is no wonder you diſparage what you do not underſtand. I believe I could point out ſome errors of that ſort; but you have ſo candidly confeſſed your ignorance, and ſo feelingly deplored the cauſes of it, that I chooſe not to make any remarks on that head, which otherwiſe I ſhould not have failed to do. I ſuppoſe, however, though you ſeem indeed to have expreſſed your meaning too ſtrongly, that you did not intend to vilify the art of reaſoning, but only the dry and technical logic of the ſchools; and I think you have not been well informed concerning a fact which might have been brought out on this part of your ſubject. I have obſerved how logic has been taught here for theſe thirty years; and there is one thing I wonder

much at: Moſt of the ſeſſion is ſtill conſumed in teaching ſyllogiſms; but the old practice of defending and impugning theſe has altogether gone into deſuetude. This ſeems very ſtrange. Why take up ſo long time about ſyllogiſms, and not teach the ſtudents the practice of diſputing? If this laſt is confeſſed to be uſeleſs, the firſt muſt be ſo too. If there was reaſon that the one ſhould fall to the ground, there was the ſame reaſon that the other ſhould have fallen along with it. This is ſuch an inconſiſtency, that had you known it, or attended to it, I believe you would have been ready enough to mention it, and perhaps to expatiate upon it.

I call it an inconſiſtency in teaching; becauſe it is perhaps no loſs to the ſcholars that diſputing is come to an end: It might bring them in conceit with quibbling, and teach them to be litigious, which would be neither to their honour nor their profit. A learned Jeſuit, ſome of whoſe writings fell in my way a long while ago, makes himſelf merry with a certain nation that lies ſome where on the weſt ſide of England, who, he ſays, are all born logicians. They are continually employed about the univerſals, the *ens rationis*, and the metaphyſical degrees: They feed on chimeras, and enter furiouſly into the diſputes of the ſchools.

Gens ratione furens, et mentem paſta chimæris.

However, in his judgment, they are at leaſt no better qualified for the arts either of peace or war than their neighbours who have no ſuch quibbling or polemical diſpoſition.

My opinion about the ordinary logic and metaphyſics is perhaps not very much different from this gentleman's and from yours; but I like not to ſay ſo keen things againſt them as you have done. I chooſe rather to expreſs my ſentiments in the words of a noble author of exquiſite taſte, whoſe judgment is eſteemed correct, and was once highly revered in this

univerſity. "Had," ſays he, "the craftieſt of men, for many ages together, been employed in finding out a method to confound reaſon and degrade the underſtanding of mankind, they could not perhaps have ſucceeded better than by the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a mock ſcience."

Remark 5. It appears to me, that there is much truth in what you have ſaid about morality. The eaſieſt and moſt uſeful things ought certainly to be firſt taught: And if the nature, limits, and extent of the particular virtues were once tolerably underſtood, the different ſchemes of moral philoſophy might be well enough explained to the ſtudents in a week or two; which is full as much time as they deſerve, or as in prudence ought to be beſtowed on them. I have heard of teachers who reaſoned ſo long about the origin of moral virtue, that they ſeemed to have brought themſelves and their ſcholars to a belief that there was no obligation at all upon them to practiſe morality.

To diſpute about theſe different ſyſtems has been long faſhionable, and yet nothing ſeems to be more misjudged. Is it the aim of morality to improve the heart and direct the practice? or is it to exerciſe the underſtanding and ſtrengthen the faculty of reaſoning? This laſt end might be better promoted by mathematics than by metaphyſics: And if there are ſome of thoſe ſchemes which are curious, their value decreaſes, and they ought to be the leſs dwelt upon in proportion as they are difficult to be underſtood.

A pedantic rhetorician in ancient times afforded much diverſion. He invented, or profeſſed the art of obſcurity. "Darken your ſentiments," would he ſay to his ſcholars, "expreſs yourſelves by enigmas, that people may not underſtand you." And when he had put together, or made up a ſtring of jingling ſounds without meaning, "That (he ſaid), that period is excellent! I underſtand it not myſelf!"

A diverſion ſomewhat ſimilar to this has been given by many teachers, ſince the revival of learning in Europe. One either invented or patched up a ſyſtem, and gravely employed himſelf in teaching and repeating it over every year, as if there had not been many other things that were more generally uſeful, and many books that had as much merit as what he had invented or ſet together. Diſcerning people ſaw, that at any rate he was paying a very great compliment to himſelf; and yet, for ſeveral ages, there has been a ſucceſſion of teachers who all followed much the ſame track, each of them in his own particular way. There ſeems to have been ſome faſcination in this matter: For if, after ſome years experience, any one of them found, that there was not above one in ten who underſtood what he eſteemed ſo much, he muſt have been deſperately, and over head and ears bewitched with his notions, if he ſtill continued to inſiſt principally upon them. Could any thing have brought him to think juſtly of his favourite ſyſtem, it would have been his own obſervation, that it was, and muſt have been unintelligible; ſince, in many repeated trials, he himſelf was incapable to throw light upon it, or to make his ſcholars comprehend it.

I have ſometimes thought, that the things taught in our univerſities ought to be aſcertained and fixed by law, and altered according to the neceſſity of the times. A number of wiſe and good men might pitch upon thoſe parts of ſcience which are moſt likely to render the youth uſeful, and to warm their hearts with the love of virtue; and each profeſſor might have his particular part aſſigned him which he was invariably to keep by. Something like this ſeems to have been done at the founding of univerſities: It is done in England with reſpect to the grammar there taught, and ſeems, at leaſt, full as neceſſary with reſpect to philoſophy: For, as I ſaid before, it is, and was ever thought odd enough to ſee a profeſſor la-

bouring at a minute, partial, or Utopian syſtem, as if it had been the only thing worthy to be known; and that whenever he was ſucceeded by another, his idol of a syſtem was no longer heard of. While he lived, it was a local morality, and circumſcribed within very narrow bounds: And it was a temporary one too; for when he died, it died with him, and had not ſtrength to ſurvive him.

Beſides, the frequent changing from syſtem to syſtem is really dangerous. One is certain that morality ariſes from one thing; another keenly affirms that it ſprings from a different ſource; a third pretends to prove that it comes from neither of the former; and half-thinking people are tempted to ſuſpect that there is no firm foundation of morality at all.

Remark 6. But in all your letter, nothing, at firſt reading, appeared to me ſo great a paradox as that which you allege concerning ſtudents of divinity, namely, that there is no diſcernable difference whether they have been the ſcholars of a weak or learned profeſſor. I was ſhocked at this. I pauſed, and conſidered it again and again. I had the patience to examine into facts, and began to ſee, what I wondered I did not ſee at firſt, that you did not advance this without very good foundation. But you will forgive me to ſay, that that part of your letter is ſuperficial. The thought is only ſtarted: It deſerved to have been kept in view, and purſued a little.

I was myſelf a ſort of ſtudent for a very long time before I applied to buſineſs; and, for at leaſt thirty years paſt, I have obſerved the accompliſhments of moſt of the ſtudents who have been licenſed in and about this city; and to ſpeak with the utmoſt impartiality, after having conſidered the matter with ſerious attention, I cannot ſay that the preachers in general were remarkably either better or worſe whoever was the profeſſor. Nay, when I compare the

times with the moſt accurate care, I am forced to think, that between twenty and thirty years ago, there was a greater number of ſenſible and good pulpit-men licenſed than have ever appeared within ſo ſhort a compaſs of years ſince that time. I imagined, however, that it was poſſible I might be miſtaken in this opinion, till I purpoſely converſed with ſeveral grave and intelligent men, who confirmed me ſtrongly in it.

I have kept up an acquaintance with the clergy in ſeveral preſbyteries round this city; and I have heard them often, and almoſt unanimouſly, complaining, that, for the moſt part, thoſe who have been ſettled among them, within theſe twelve or ſixteen years, do not in ability equal thoſe who went before them. Perhaps ſome ſmall allowance might be made for that propenſity which moſt men have to commend the dead more than the living: But there is alſo a ſtrong and general bias in favour of young beginners. However, all that I conclude from ſo unanimous a complaint is, that the preachers who have been lately licenſed, or have lately entered into the miniſtry, are not, generally ſpeaking, poſſeſſed of greater ability than thoſe who were licenſed many years ago.

And yet it is not likely, that all the profeſſors for thirty years paſt were alike able to teach. The very reverend and worthy gentleman who has taught divinity here for near twenty years, has, without diſpute, very conſiderable talents, and much acquired knowledge; and he applied aſſiduouſly to the buſineſs. I remember, that when he was called to the chair, there was an almoſt univerſal expectation, that the preachers educated by him would both have a larger way of thinking, and would acquit themſelves in the pulpit to far better purpoſe than ever had been the caſe with the ſtudents under any profeſſor before him.

But in divinity the ſame time is employed, and the

fame, or nearly the fame things, are read by every teacher. The doctrines, the precepts, and motives, are the fame: In fhort, the fame fyftem is taught by whofoever is the profeffor. The effect therefore muft be the fame, though the refpective abilities of the profeffors may be very different. If a dwarf raifes up a ftone four feet high, and a giant raifes a ftone of the fame weight and fize alfo four feet, when they are both let fall on a pavement, the impreffion made by the dwarf's ftone will be equal to that made by the giant's. If Therfites throws a dart with all his force, which is as 20; and Ajax, whofe force is as 100, throws a dart of equal weight and fharpnefs with a force only as 20, each of them will alike pierce the fhield of Hector. It is very much the fame with refpect to any two teachers. However far one of them may excel the other in ability, the fame, or nearly the fame force is exerted and applied by each of them: Nay, in fome refpects, the weak profeffor may feem rather to have the advantage: Senfible of his inability, he will, it is probable, be more in earneft; his way of thinking and fpeaking is more familiar; his capacity is more commenfurate to that of his fcholars. In common life, a weak man enlightens and leads a weak man more effectually than a man of ability can do. If he teaches in Latin, or even in Engliſh, and blunders in grammar now and then, the ftudents will be diverted; they will be roufed to attention, and will long remember the doctrines or things which the profeffor had not ready language to expreſs. By this means they will imbibe knowledge perhaps faſter than by a grave, uniform, and fenfible difcourfe, which oftentimes tires the hearers; and having no breaks in it, does not renew nor keep up their attention.

But we judge of teachers, not by the depth of their knowledge, but by the eafinefs of their compofitions, and by their expreffing themfelves in a natu-

ral manner. Now, the ſtudents, for many years, have been taught the art of compoſition: They have got a courſe of lectures judiciouſly collected from the beſt maſters in rhetoric, ancient and modern, and very diligently delivered. It might be thought reaſonable to conclude, that in this reſpect the ſtudents muſt be conſiderably and greatly improved; and yet I have not, nor do I know any body who has obſerved that theſe lectures have produced any ſenſible effect. The preſent preachers, generally ſpeaking, compoſe juſt as the preachers formerly did, who, perhaps, during the time of their ſtudying, never heard of compoſition.

The real cauſe of this I take to be, that the ſtudents are not called to compoſe any oftener than formerly. To give a diſcourſe once a-year, perhaps ſeldomer, is all that is required of them. If they were obliged to compoſe every week, or every month, they would ſoon out-ſtrip thoſe who ſtudied long ago. To compoſe frequently by the help of ſo good directions would produce a very ſpeedy and remarkable effect. But without the exerciſe of compoſition, the directions are in a manner loſt. It would be juſt ſo in any other art. Should a writing-maſter entertain his ſcholars with the moſt excellent rules about writing, but never put a pen in their hand, he would loſe his labour: Or, ſhould a carpenter harangue his apprentices how to hew the wood, how to form every plank, and how to join the whole, but never cauſe them manage the hatchet, or drive a nail, he would never teach them the art of ſhip-building. It is the ſame thing with reſpect to compoſition: The rules are profitable if they are frequently put in practice; and without this all the rules in the world will never enable a man to compoſe. The exerciſe of compoſing is far more effectual than the rules. This is manifeſt from what has happened in this univerſity; the compoſing one diſcourſe a-year did formerly bring the

ſtudents to know a little about compoſition; the compoſing one diſcourſe a-year produces the ſame effect ſtill; and little alteration is made, though lectures on compoſition are now delivered.

But if, inſtead of one diſcourſe, there were ten or twelve diſcourſes compoſed yearly by each ſtudent, the advantage of the lectures would ſoon appear. Though theſe diſcourſes were not all delivered from the deſk, but only looked over, and the errors in compoſition pointed out by the maſter, a wonderful proficiency would be made; and your poſition, that the ſcholars of an able and of a weak profeſſor are juſt equal, would no longer be well founded.

In the mean time, I allow the poſition. I ſuppoſe I have touched at the cauſes of it, which you did not. The remedy, I think, is obvious, if teachers will pleaſe to be at a little more pains; without which things will go on as before; and the riſing generation will have no cauſe to value themſelves in point of compoſition above their predeceſſors, notwithſtanding the beſt lectures they may hear.

But I would fain hope, that along with ſo good lectures more frequent compoſition will alſo ſoon be brought in faſhion. When the precepts are ſo well delivered, what pity is it that the practice ſhould be ſo much neglected! The utility of conjoining them will ſome time appear. Indeed it is manifeſt, that the juſteſt precepts, unleſs they are applied to practice, are very uſeleſs things, and very ſoon forgot. But if one labours to make himſelf maſter of the art concerning which he has heard the precepts, he both learns the art and remembers the precepts: By attempting to apply them, he fixes them in his memory; by remembering and uſing them, he becomes more and more perfect in the art. In ſhort, to excel in compoſition, conſtant and almoſt daily practice is neceſſary: The rules did not teach compoſition; compoſition produced the rules.

Remark 7. You seem to suppose, that the desire of knowledge is by far more strong and general in this city than I take it really to be. That there are some men of taste cannot be denied; but the general desire here, at present, is to have a little more money; and, considering the populousness of the place, there are, alas! extremely few who trouble themselves about any part of science whatever. They may talk plausibly about your scheme, and even in their judgments approve it; but it will be great odds if ever they open their purses to set it a-going. Could you have proposed any scheme which they saw was to double their gain next month, or next year, they would very greedily have snapped at the bait. Nay, sometimes they will be busy about the most frivolous things, while the most momentous are neglected: At the election of a parliament-man, which concerns us exceeding little, you see here a mighty and almost universal stir; but when a proper plan of education is proposed, which is of the utmost importance to the interest and honour of this city, there will be some from whom perhaps you expected much, who will be thoroughly drowsy and inactive. I think, therefore, that your hopes of success are rather too sanguine; for though I am not at present in the council, I imagine I know their temper: And I have but little hope, that the magistrates and they will, like the town-council of Perth, expend any money in that way. Between you and me, they will rather throw it away on parliamenteering; or on romantic projects, such as locks on the river, which can never be executed; and if they could, instead of being beneficial, would be highly detrimental.

Not that I despair of an academy altogether. Considering the enterprising spirit of this city, it may, perhaps, be erected in a little time. Several of my next neighbours, some of them of considerable rank and influence, see the necessity of it, and talk about

it in a generous and public-ſpirited manner. The greateſt difficulty, they think, is to find proper teachers: And, no doubt, if the thing is done at all, it ſhould be done to purpoſe, and not in a ſham manner. It would be ridiculous to employ thoſe to teach hiſtory, geography, and philoſophy, who are reputed to have no tolerable knowledge of theſe things: It would be ſtill more ridiculous to call a ſchool taught by ſuch people an academy. But I am perſuaded it is not ſo difficult to find two or three young men of ſprightly genius poſſeſſed of the rudiments of knowledge, and who are either already, or can ſoon make themſelves accompliſhed for the undertaking. There are ſuch ſtudents, though they be but little known: And certainly no other but the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants ought to take, or pretend to take the lead in this matter. They are beſt able to judge of the merit of thoſe who may offer their ſervice. Though no ſalary was to be given, the magiſtrates ought to take care what is the capacity of thoſe who are entruſted with the education of youth, eſpecially in the important things propoſed to be taught at the academy. No man ſhould be allowed to teach ſuch things till he firſt undergoes a public examination in preſence of the magiſtrates, and be approved of by competent judges.

If there ſhall be, in this place, a briſk and general deſire for ſuch a courſe of education, and if proper encouragement be offered, fit teachers of every particular branch will ſoon appear; and if to pronounce juſtly, to judge of fine writing, and to compoſe in Engliſh, ſhall, as you propoſe, be among the things taught at the academy, I do affirm, that any teacher of tolerable genius may borrow great aſſiſtance from a valuable book juſt publiſhed, the laſt work of a very maſterly writer, I mean, The Elements of Criticiſm, the firſt eſſay of the kind I have ſeen in Engliſh; and

perhaps it may be a long time before any other ſhall venture to write upon the ſame ſubject.

Remark 8. You ſeem to have had two deſigns in view; one to defend yourſelves and us from the imputation of ignorance, and the other to have an academy erected. The firſt, as I remarked before, you ſometimes purſue with rather too much wit and ſatire. I doubt not but the provocation you have got may be very great: I have ſeen and felt very ſevere mocking of that ſort myſelf; but I muſt repeat it again, that no provocation ſhould have cauſed you write any thing which might mar your principal deſign, or make things worſe. Univerſities, ill regulated as they are, are the beſt things we yet have for attaining ſome little knowledge. The maſters indeed impart too little, and few of them give directions how to read. But when young people are ſent to a college, and have no other buſineſs, ſome of them will give application to ſtudy; and though many of the things they hear in ſchool may be thorny and unprofitable, yet, by converſing with one another, they fall into ſomething that is of uſe to them. Some ſhreds of knowledge from the literary and buſy world reach even to them, which are perhaps of more uſe than the lectures they hear; and, notwithſtanding all you ſay, even theſe lectures are of ſome advantage. I think, therefore, you ought not to have leſſened that eſteem and reverence which ſcholars ſhould have for their teachers, nor to have talked ſo ſlightly of that ſolemnity which you acknowledge is uſeful and neceſſary to convey inſtruction. It was alſo wrong, I fear, to uſe ſo many ſharp expreſſions; theſe may provoke the profeſſors to become more ſlothful, and to turn to things ſtill more dark and unprofitable than thoſe they now teach; and this may very likely be the caſe, if they ſee that no academy is like to be erected here. And yet, if the profeſſors be not too obſtinate, a very different effect may be produced.

Oftentimes faults are as ſoon corrected as they are taken notice of. Since your letter began to be talked of, I have heard that the profeſſors are giving out that there was long ago a deſign to teach geography inſtead of logic; ſo that they themſelves have been beforehand with you, though you perhaps may be vain enough to aſſume the merit of that deſign, as till now we heard nothing of it.

But after all, when I ſay that your ſatire may obſtruct your deſign, I am not quite ſure that I am in the right. Perhaps it was neceſſary; perhaps you have been ſparing enough in it. That a true religion may be embraced, the falſe one is to be exploded; that a new and proper plan of education may be encouraged, the faults of the old and unſuitable one muſt be laid open. But it required an uncommon degree of boldneſs to ſpeak out as you have done. I have often ſeen, that when all the world were convinced that wrong meaſures were publicly purſued, and when every wiſe man was wiſhing that others might openly cenſure ſuch meaſures, yet he was ſhy and ſilent himſelf. How far you have merited blame, rather than praiſe, I am loath to ſay. One thing ſeems plain, that if you had been very ſatirically diſpoſed, you might have thrown into your paper ſeveral late tranſactions, which would have appeared more ſevere than any thing you have ſaid; and, as you are of this city, the things I mean could not but be known to you.

Theſe are my poor remarks. I have offered them with a freedom which I hope is not offenſive. The ſenſe and ſpirit of your paper will be generally approved; the ſtrokes of ſatire will be leſs reliſhed. The deſign is noble, ſeaſonable, and neceſſary; the ſucceſs of it, I fear, is at beſt doubtful: However, by the very propoſal, ſome good, I hope, may be produced. If the gentlemen of the univerſity are in good humour, they will voluntarily make great alterations in the

matter and manner of their teaching. If they believe that an academy is to be erected, they will be forced to alter many things; if there is great probability that your plan ſhall ſoon take place, that will overcome their greateſt obſtinacy; if a royal viſitation can be obtained, that will ſet all on a right footing. Senſible men will form an uſeful plan of teaching, and the profeſſors will be tied down to obſerve it. If the crown appoint factors to uplift and manage the college revenues, all occaſion of wrangling will be removed; the maſters will live in harmony, and will have leiſure to mind their proper buſineſs: They will be freed from much obloquy; and thoſe parts of the country from which they have hitherto raiſed their revenues will be reſcued from much real or imagined oppreſſion. What I wiſh for moſt of all in this matter, for the ſake of the public and my own children, is to ſee an academy preſently erected; my next wiſh is, that the univerſity would wiſely, of their own accord, make the neceſſary and deſired alterations in their teaching. If neither of theſe is done, I wiſh to ſee a royal viſitation as ſoon as poſſible. It is about forty years ſince there was one, and it could not be more needed at that time than it is now. If it is aſked in a decent and reſpectful manner, without ſhowing any ill humour, or throwing out any perſonal reflections, a thing ſo beneficial to the country, and that puts the government to no expence, would certainly be granted.

Shall the univerſity, content with the old manner of teaching, apply to parliament to have burſaries altered from the original deſtination of the founder, ſo as to ſuit their preſent intereſt or particular views, and meet with ſucceſs? Shall this city petition to be indemnified for its loſſes, and to have its revenues increaſed and extended, and ſucceed alſo? And are there none who will apply to the king and privy-council for that which would advance the intereſt,

the virtue, and happineſs of their children and poſterity? If ſuch application is made, is it poſſible but that it muſt be liſtened to? It is worthy of this city, and of the whole gentlemen in the neighbouring counties, to unite as one man, and reſpectfully, but firmly, to inſiſt for ſo neceſſary and cheap a favour. It is not a narrow, factious, or ſelf-intereſted affair, but of public, of extenſive, and of laſting importance to the welfare and aggrandiſement of our country. Is there ſo low an eſteem, ſo languid a deſire of knowledge, ſo feeble a concern for poſterity, in city and country, that men will not trouble themſelves to aſk a thing of the higheſt importance, when ſucceſs is almoſt infallible? A thing, the conſequences of which are great and good, and which brings harm to no ſociety or particular perſon. Were there an academy erected, men might continue in their ſleep and indolence, and ſuffer things to proceed in the old inſipid way. But with what reluctance do I think that both may poſſibly be neglected! If young people had been properly educated for ſixty years paſt, it is not mine, but the general opinion, that our country at this time would have been highly improved. How painful to think that the ſame ſlothfulneſs may continue ſtill! Twenty years ago, when I was riding acroſs the country, ſeveral farmers complained to me, that if their grandfathers had planted trees on the barren ground forty years before, it would by their time have yielded great profit; and laſt year I was ſorry to obſerve that they had left room for their grandchildren to lodge the ſame complaint againſt themſelves. Will we be equally and infinitely more fooliſh? Convinced that education has been long and is at preſent on a wrong footing, will we make no attempt to ſet it on a right one? For my part, I cannot but wiſh that there may be ſpirit and reſolution among us, to offer ſerious and repeated, but modeſt and inoffenſive addreſſes on this head; and that either you or others

may awake and keep up the public attention to this great and momentous concern, till ſomething ſhall be effectually done. I hope the letter I have remarked upon, which, in ſeveral reſpects, I think very faulty, will not however be the ſingle eſſay of the kind by your ſociety, making only a tranſient noiſe for a few days, and ſuffered to ſink again into oblivion. I hope there are a ſet of men in the country, whoſe buſineſs it is to examine ſchools, and ſuperviſe the education of youth, who will imitate the ſpirit of their forefathers, and who, if this matter ſhall by all others be neglected, will have the virtue to make a proper application, and the honour of obtaining their requeſt. Though they were lately unſucceſsful in an application for themſelves, where more money was ſought, they will, in this generous and neceſſary meaſure, meet with full ſucceſs, when no money is aſked for or deſired.

I have no doubt heard conjectures about the particular writer or writers of your letter; but as you have choſen to conceal your names, I follow your example: And in order to convey to you my remarks, ſuch as they are, I have privately ſent them to one who I believe knows by what channel to communicate them to you. You will pleaſe forgive this trouble, and believe me to be,

Gentlemen,

Yours, &c.

Glaſgow, March 10. 1762. B———.

LETTER

FROM A

Society in Glaſgow, who are not yet tainted with a taſte for Literature, to their Brethren in Paiſley,

SHOWING THE

SCHEME FOR ERECTING AN ACADEMY

IN ITS OWN PROPER COLOURS.

Brethren,

YOU have no doubt ſeen the late pamphlet, intituled, The Defects of an Univerſity Education. It contains a propoſal for introducing a new plan of education, by means of an academy to be erected in this city. As the education of youth is a matter of the utmoſt importance, we always pay the greateſt regard to every propoſal for its improvement. And as the title page of that pamphlet informed us that it was wrote by a ſociety of our own citizens, we can aſſure you we were greatly prejudiſed in its favour: But on reading it over, we ſay it with tears in our eyes, we found them to be only wolves in ſheeps clothing. Under a pretence of friendſhip for our city, they are endeavouring to ſtab us in our vitals. Religion has long been on the declining hand among us, and now they would alſo take away our trade, the craft by which we have got our wealth. But we will not quit with it ſo eaſily; we will graſp it in our arms, we will hug it in our boſoms, and cling to it till death part us.

Trade, every body may be ſenſible, is not a thing that will follow people againſt their inclination; ſucceſs in it muſt be the effect of aſſiduous application;

and such application can only proceed from a spirit for trade, and a mind deeply impressed with a serious sense of the necessity and importance of being rich. Now every plan of education, which has a tendency to crush this spirit among our youth, must in proportion contribute to the ruin and destruction of our commerce.

We were convinced at first reading that this new plan of education had such a tendency, but we did not choose at that time to speak our minds publicly about it. We were convinced, from past observation, that our fellow-citizens pay no great regard to projects that have not an immediate tendency to increase their wealth. Such projects may, perhaps, at a time when trade happens to be dull, make a little noise among them for a day or two, but they are soon forgot, and leave no serious impressions on their minds. This was the case with the proposal we are now talking of. After being the common topic of conversation for a few days, it was no more regarded; and indeed we were in hopes it had met with the fate it deserved, and was sunk in everlasting oblivion.

But whilst we were indulging ourselves in this pleasing hope, out comes a parcel of Remarks on it. These Remarks appear evidently to be written by some friend to this academy, and published with no other view than to recal the first pamphlet to the memory of the inhabitants, and to preserve it from sinking into that oblivion in which it ought for ever to have been buried. The publication of these Remarks gives us reason to suspect that this scheme for an academy may be secretly encouraged by some numerous party among ourselves. We could therefore no longer remain silent. We have resolved to apply to you, Brethren; your spirit for trade is universally known; and we make no doubt but the common danger will engage you to unite your endeavours with ours in decrying this academy.

You will probably be ſurpriſed, that we, your old acquaintances, are now become a Society. But when wicked academicians are uniting in ſocieties for demoliſhing our trade, and undermining our religion, we think it is full time that the friends of trade and religion ſhould aſſociate themſelves for their defence. Theſe academial gentlemen need not think to terrify us, by calling themſelves a Society; for we are convinced that the uncorrupted inhabitants of this city are ſtill a very numerous and reſpectable body. We, who glory in being of that number, have reſolved to take joint meaſures in oppoſing this academy-ſcheme, and it is with pleaſure we inform you that great numbers are every day applying for admittance to our Society.

The authors of this propoſal for an academy ſeem to have minded their books more than their trade; it cannot therefore be expected that we, who have been all along men of buſineſs only, ſhould be able to cope with theſe people at fine writing. All that we propoſe is, to ſet forth, in the way of ſober reaſoning, the dangerous conſequences of this academy, ſhould our fellow-citizens be ſo far left to themſelves as to erect one. We think we are called to exert ourſelves on this occaſion; and a ſenſe of our own weakneſs ſhall not deter us from our duty.

The authors of that pamphlet are pleaſed to ſay that we are ignorant. Has any body ſeen us throw away our money? Or have we been catched making bargains againſt our own intereſt? Theſe indeed had been ſymptoms of ignorance. But if we have no book-knowledge, if we have no knowledge of hiſtory, if we are totally unacquainted with geography, if we have no ſmattering of natural philoſophy, are we therefore to be branded with ignorance? This, however, is not the caſe with us. We are not ſo ignorant of the hiſtory of our own country as theſe people would repreſent us. There is no trader who has

made any figure in this city, for fifty years paſt, but we are thoroughly acquainted with his hiſtory. We know the arts by which he acquired his fortune and raiſed himſelf in the world. We know the prudent methods which he took to keep it together, and to hand it ſafely down to his poſterity. This is the hiſtory in which every merchant ought to be converſant. It is not to be found in your hiſtory books; it can only be learned by the faithful narratives of our aged citizens, men who have grown old in the arts of trade; and to theſe we liſten with the moſt patient attention. Theſe hiſtories, with the practical uſe of them in the courſe of buſineſs, are deeply rivetted in our hearts; we alſo teach them diligently to our children, ſpeaking of them when we lie down and when we riſe up, when we ſit in the houſe and when we walk abroad, to the end that their wealth may be increaſed in the land.

Your knowing people, the gentlemen for the academy, will no doubt deſpiſe this our hiſtorical learning. But how ſenſible are we ourſelves of its utility! How often have we handled its happy fruits! The only criterion by which true knowledge can be diſtinguiſhed from the kind of it that is ſlimſy and ſuperficial, is its tendency to bring money into one's pocket. And we are firmly perſuaded, that if the knowledge which theſe academial gentlemen would introduce among us was weighed in this balance, with the knowledge which prevails in this city at preſent, it would be found extremely deficient.

They ſay too that we are dull. But did ever any of them over-reach us in the way of trade? We only wiſh they would try this, and they would ſoon feel to their experience whether we are dull or not.

They may call us dull, and ſay we have no penetration, but they are quite miſtaken. There are no people who will ſooner diſcern latent merit, or pay more reſpect to it, even when it happens to make its

appearance in diſguiſe. An eminent phyſician, who is lately deceaſed, and another learned gentleman, were one day walking by the river ſide with a very worthy inhabitant of this city. On a ſudden the citizen ſtarts from them, and runs forward to meet a man who was coming toward them in a very ſhabby dreſs. "What is that tattered fellow, (ſays the phyſician) of whom our friend ſeems to be ſo fond?"—"I am no way acquainted with him," replied the other gentleman, "but he is certainly a man worth money."

We are no way concerned however at being called dull. We are convinced that this malicious inſinuation proceeds entirely from envy at our wealth. Dullneſs is an aſperſion that has been thrown on rich people in all ages. The inhabitants of ancient Carthage, and our induſtrious neighbours the Dutch in modern times, have met with this treatment. And people who would be rich in any age muſt lay their account with being called dull by thoſe who are incapable of imitating them.

But indeed it is no way ſurpriſing that the authors of this propoſal ſhould ſpeak ſo contemptibly of us, when even the learned profeſſors of the univerſity have not eſcaped their ſcurrilous tongues. They ſay they are lazy, and allow their ſtudents but a ſmall moiety of inſtruction. They ſay too that they ſhould change their plan of education, and ſet up in the academy way. And they even inſinuate, that ſome of the learned profeſſors are ignorant of the things they pretend to teach. But for our part, we have always lived in great friendſhip with the profeſſors. We do not pretend to judge about their quota of learning; but as to their plan of education, we are quite ſatisfied with it. One Sunday, a good many years ago, one of us happened to attend a church, in a certain city, where the miniſter was remarkable for the badneſs of his elocution and the impenetrability of his

method. After ſermon, our friend accidentally met with an old gentlewoman who was one of that miniſter's conſtant hearers. The miniſter happening to be mentioned in the courſe of converſation, he told her that he was ſurpriſed ſhe choſe to ſit in that church; that for his part, he had not been able to comprehend one ſentence of the diſcourſe. "It is very true, Sir," replied the old gentlewoman, "but then we are ſure we drink in no error there." Now the caſe is juſt the ſame with our univerſity. If the inſtructions of the learned profeſſors are of no benefit to our children, we are convinced at leaſt they are perfectly harmleſs. And this is a great deal more than can be ſaid for the knowledge which theſe academicians propoſe to communicate to our children.

As the things taught at the univerſity far tranſcend any ordinary comprehenſion, the boys are in no danger of having their minds pre-engaged in book-knowledge. When the ordinary courſe at the univerſity is finiſhed, they can apply their whole attention to trade. But if once this academy was erected, knowledge, being delivered from its preſent obſcurity, will become eaſy, and, like vice when it is finely coloured over, will appear pleaſant to young minds, and ſo draw their attention entirely off from their buſineſs. Thus, in a few years, this academy will bring utter deſtruction on our trade.

Theſe, Brethren, are no chimerical terrors, they are the dictates of ſober experience. The city of Aberdeen is a melancholy proof of them. About fifteen or twenty years ago, that city had a very conſiderable tobacco trade, but it is now quite vaniſhed. And we believe it will be difficult to account for its departure from any other cauſe than the new plan of education that was ſome years ago introduced into the Mariſchal College of that city.

The very name of an univerſity education adds dignity to a man's character; and, by dazzling the

eyes of ignorant people, may ſometimes be uſeful to him in the way of trade. A fellow who is both able and willing to cheat him at a bargain may be ſcared from attempting to do ſo, terrified at the danger of being found out by the man who has been at the univerſity, and who is therefore ſuſpected to be much wiſer than other people.

We remember too, that one of our old college companions uſed to derive a great deal of private comfort from the very thoughts of having had an univerſity education. Whenever he happened to be overcome at an argument, (which was generally as often as he engaged in one) he always conſoled himſelf with the reflection, that he had once wore the gown, and had all along preſerved the ſolemnity of a profound ſcholar.

An univerſity education is not only perfectly harmleſs to our youth, it may even be of real uſe to them. It has a tendency to build them up in one of the main branches of the commercial ſpirit. The learned profeſſors have always, in their own conduct, diſcovered a very laudable attachment to money; and we charitably hope they are at all proper pains to communicate the ſame good diſpoſition to their ſtudents. The authors of the propoſal for an academy tell us, that the learned profeſſors are not in ſome things very exemplary to their ſtudents; but we who are parents have the ſatisfaction to think, that their inſtructions on this important ſubject are accompanied with a very edifying example. This is a circumſtance which cannot fail to have its proper effect on the tender minds of our children; and it gives us a very delightful proſpect of what may be the ſtate of commerce in this city in the next generation, if we can keep away the academy.

The love of money is an affection of importance and utility in human life. The four hundred and fiftieth number of the Spectator is a moſt admirable

paper on this subject. Mr. Ephraim Weed, a considerable trader in the tobacco way, writes a letter to the Spectator, in which, from the history of his own life, he proves, in a very pleasant and convincing manner, that the love of money makes men honest, sober, and religious; and has a very happy effect in rendering them calm and resigned under some of the severest calamities and misfortunes of life. The Spectator is not a very proper book for young men setting out in the trading world; we are very far from praising it by the bulk; it is only Mr. Weed's most excellent letter that we recommend to the serious attention of every young man who is ambitious of making a figure in business. We think every merchant ought to get it fairly transcribed, and pasted up in his counting-room, just by the map of Virginia. The young gentlemen who attend the counting-room, by carefully perusing it at leisure hours, will be greatly edified in the commercial life, and will feel their good dispositions toward money wonderfully increased and confirmed.

The love of money is an affection which every young man ought carefully to cherish in his own bosom. It is an excellent antidote against some vices to which young people are but too often addicted. In proof of this, we shall quote the words of the foresaid Mr. Ephraim Weed; and we think his authority in this matter ought to be decisive: "I do not remember," says Mr. Weed, "that since my coming into this world I was ever overtaken in drink, save nine times, one at a christening of my first child, thrice at our city feasts, and five times at driving of bargains. My reformation I can attribute to nothing so much as the love and esteem of money; for I found myself to be extravagant in my drink, and apt to turn projector, and make rash bargains. As for women, I never knew any except my wives; for my reader must know, and it is what he may confide in

as an excellent *recipe*, that the love of buſineſs and money is the greateſt mortifier of inordinate deſires imaginable, as employing the mind continually in the careful overſight of what one has, in the eager queſt after more, in looking after the negligence and deceits of ſervants, in the due entering and ſtating of accounts, in hunting after chaps, and in the exact knowledge of the ſtate of markets; which things whoever thoroughly attends, will find enough to employ his thoughts in every moment of the day; ſo that I cannot call to mind, that in all the time I was a huſband, which, off and on, was about twelve years, I ever once thought of my wives but in bed."

We have obſerved, with great pleaſure, that a deſire of making money has long been on the thriving hand in this corner of our native country. The flouriſhing ſtate of this excellent diſpoſition is, no doubt, in a good meaſure, to be aſcribed to the uſeful inſtructions and edifying example of the learned profeſſors of this univerſity. We ſuppoſe the authors of the propoſal for an academy intended to throw a flur on the learned profeſſors, or at leaſt on their plan of education, when they tell us, that our country gentlemen, who have been educated at the univerſity, are no way inferior to the inhabitants of this city in point of ignorance. But every judicious perſon, who conſiders what it is that theſe people mean by knowledge, will be of opinion, that the learned profeſſors are greatly to be commended for keeping their ſtudents clear of it. If our country gentlemen have no academial knowledge, they have the true knowledge, which is much more profitable to them. Have not the moſt part of them doubled the rents of their eſtates within theſe laſt thirty years? And will any ſober perſon ſay that ſuch people are ignorant? This knowledge of theirs is not only highly beneficial to themſelves, it has alſo a very happy influence on all around them. The lower ranks of mankind are ge-

nerally disposed to imitate the manners of their superiors; and from the exemplary conduct of our country gentlemen, we have great reason to hope, that a gripping disposition, a violent desire of making money, will speedily prevail over the whole land.

That the university has no inconsiderable influence in forming this disposition in a country-side, appears from this, that the people who live at a great distance from this city, the seat of substantial learning, are sunk in the most barbarous and deplorable ignorance with regard to the main chance. A few months ago, one of our society had occasion to travel at some distance from home. Happening to have business at a house on the road, he desired a boy to take his big coat and horse to a public house about half a mile distant; and for this piece of service he offered him a halfpenny. "O yes, Sir," says the boy, "I'll take the big coat and the horse to such a place, but I have no use for the halfpenny." Our friend was quite astonished at the ignorance of this poor boy. A boy of twelve years old not to know the worth of a halfpenny! The most diminutive boy in our streets will not perform the smallest piece of service unless its value in money be first laid in his hand. This shows us the great importance of a good education. In this city both instructions and example conspire to make our children early acquainted with the worth of money; but in that part of the country where our friend met with this ignorant boy, the people live at a great distance from the seat of learning, and have no intercourse with the trading part of mankind, so that their minds have never yet got clear of their primitive ignorance.

We rejoice however in the hope, that the light of true knowledge will soon dawn on these dark and barbarous corners of the land. School-masters who have received their education at the university, may

be conſidered as miſſionaries ſent forth to propagate true knowledge among theſe ignorant barbarians. We are told, that one of the learned profeſſors is ſo charitable as to give lectures on economy *gratis*, for the benefit of ſuch ſtudents as intend to come out in the ſchool-maſter way. We have alſo received very ſatisfying accounts concerning the ſucceſs of theſe his lectures. Several ſchool-maſters in different parts of the country, as we are informed, have ſcraped together very conſiderable ſums in a few years. Their backs and their bellies have indeed been ſtarved, but then the main chance has been carried on. Though they choſe to faſt, yet they had the ſatisfaction to think that they might have eaten had they ſo pleaſed. Cold and hunger were no doubt grievous to the fleſh in the mean time; but now they reap the happy fruit of them in the ſolid peace and comfort which ariſes from a conſciouſneſs of their own wealth; beſides a great deal of ſpiritual benefit to their ſouls from ſuch a courſe of mortification. Country ſchool-maſters, you know, have the care of educating the youth in their ſeveral pariſhes; and we hope, that under the diſcipline of ſuch excellent preceptors, their tender minds will gradually contract a ſtrong attachment to money, and be early formed to the love and deſire of gain.

Theſe obſervations, Brethren, have not led us away from our main deſign. By ſhowing us the great importance and uſefulneſs of an univerſity education, they point out to us the pernicious tendency of theſe academies, and the knowledge which is to be got at them. Whenever a merchant contracts a thirſt after book-knowledge, he may bid an everlaſting farewel to his trade, and give up all further hopes of increaſing his wealth. Conſidering trade as an interruption to him in the purſuit of knowledge, he will feel a ſecret joy when it grows dull; the loſs of a cuſtomer, inſtead of being a mournful and diſcourag-

ing event, will be to him a ſource of great conſolation. Now, let any ſober perſon judge whether a man of this diſpoſition be in a thriving way. Can he fail of being ſpeedily reduced to the moſt deſpicable poverty?

When we reflect ſeriouſly on theſe things, we cannot help thinking, that the very propoſal of eſtabliſhing an academy amongſt us may be attended with very dangerous conſequences to the credit of this city. Should it once take air through the country, that ſuch a numerous body of the inhabitants of Glaſgow, as the authors of this propoſal ſeem to be, inſtead of hungering and thirſting after the enlargement of their trade and the increaſe of their wealth, have contracted a moſt voracious appetite after book-knowledge, what do you think will be the effect of it? Will not every one be afraid to riſk his money with ſuch people? Will not every one who has money lying at intereſt in this city call it in with all imaginable diſpatch? Will not a general bankruptcy of the citizens be very juſtly apprehended? We are credibly informed, that the ſeveral banking companies in this city, being afraid that this propoſal may affect the circulation of their notes, have reſolved to publiſh an advertiſement in the newſpaper, declaring, that no perſon concerned in any of the ſaid banking companies is infected with this thirſt after book-knowledge; that, on the contrary, they are determined to exert themſelves, conjunctly and ſeverally, to the utmoſt of their power, in ſuppreſſing every attempt for erecting any academy in this city; and that in examining into the circumſtances of people who apply to them for caſh accounts, they will inquire particularly into their diſpoſitions with regard to the academy, that none of its well-wiſhers may have any ſhare in their favours. It might be expected, that a declaration of this nature, made by ſuch a reſpectable body of the inhabitants, who have ſuch a

powerful influence over their fellow-citizens in money matters, would go a great length in re-eſtabliſhing the credit of this city and quieting people's minds: But the ſmalleſt appearance of danger is always ſo alarming in caſes where one's money is at the ſtake, that it is hard to ſay what may be the effect of ſuſpicions kindled in people's boſoms by this unlucky propoſal.

The tendency of theſe academies to bring us to poverty, is a circumſtance which ſhould make them be vigorouſly oppoſed by every friend to peace and good order in ſociety. We have heard of one Mr. Hobbs, who has been greatly cenſured for ſaying that mankind are naturally in a ſtate of war. But conſidering that men in their natural ſtate being ignorant of trade, are of conſequence moſt deplorably poor, we think it is no way ſurpriſing though they ſhould be continually quarrelling with their neighbours, and even cutting one anothers throats. Poverty makes men fearleſs of danger; wealth, on the other hand, has a moſt admirable effect in calming quarrelſome and bloody-minded people. We remember about two years ago the public was at a great loſs to account for the behaviour of a certain general officer in Germany. But the affair was quite cleared up to us, when we were informed, that ſome ſhort time before the battle of Minden he had ſucceeded to a conſiderable eſtate by the death of an aunt. This addition of wealth had entirely taken away his former fighting diſpoſition, and inſpired him with a quiet and peaceable one.

It will no doubt be objected to this obſervation, that the wealthy inhabitants of this city expreſſed the higheſt joy and ſatisfaction at the commencement of the preſent war. But our joy on that occaſion did not in the leaſt proceed from any deſire of fighting in *propriis perſonis*. This is a thing to which we have always had the greateſt averſion, eſpecially ſince we

grew rich. Our unanimity in oppoſing the ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a militia in this country, is a ſufficient proof of it. Our joy at the commencement of the war proceeded entirely from the hope that other people's quarrels might give us an opportunity of enlarging our trade, and be the occaſion of increaſing our wealth.

Our whole hearts and ſouls are ſet on our trade. It is the ſpring which moves all our paſſions. We hope and we fear, we joy and we grieve, we are proud or we are humble, juſt according to the preſent aſpect of our trade. A country gentleman, who pretended to be very ſatirical on the inhabitants of this city, once told us, that he could eaſily diſcern by the looks of a merchant whether he was at that particular time fortunate or unfortunate in his buſineſs. "If one of his ſhips," ſaid he, "has arrived ſafe without any aſſurance, or if he has ſold a large cargo of tobacco or ſugar at a good price, he paſſes by an old country acquaintance on the ſtreet without ſo much as deigning to look at him. But, on the other hand, if he has loſt a ſhip, or if one of his principal debtors has ſtopped payment, he knows his country acquaintance at firſt ſight, ſhakes him by the hand in a very friendly manner, inquires for the welfare of his family, and diſcovers ſeveral other ſymptoms of kindneſs and humanity." But let us return to the academy.

We are particularly alarmed at the danger which is threatened to our holy religion by this propoſal for an academy. The nation is at preſent ſo over-run with Atheiſts, and Socinians, and Deiſts, and Arians, and Free-thinkers, and Glaſſites, and Infidels, and various other kinds of Heretics, that we cannot be too much on our guard againſt people who pretend to make any addition to our knowledge. And really the noiſe that is made about morality in that pamphlet gives us great reaſon to ſuſpect that the authors

of it have ſome plot on our religion. We have generally obſerved that the corrupters of our faith cry up morality; but the inhabitants of this city have always been diſtinguiſhed by a zealous attachment to purity in doctrine. We are told that the Spaniards, out of reſpect to their anceſtors, ſtill retain the dreſs that was in faſhion among them two or three hundred years ago: We pay the ſame pious regard to the religious opinions of our anceſtors, which are the dreſs of the mind. We do not inquire curiouſly into the foundations of our faith; our whole attention is engaged in trade; and we receive our religious opinions entirely on the credit of our forefathers. They were a great deal more addicted to religious ſpeculation than we their children are; and they certainly took care that their opinions were well founded before they eſtabliſhed them into the national faith; and for our part, we are determined that this faith ſhall deſcend to our children in the ſame purity it came to us.

We are told that the diſſenters in England are at preſent over-run with hereſy. We can account for this from no other cauſe than the great number of academies which have been ſet up among them.—They call theſe academies ſeminaries of knowledge, but we are convinced they are alſo ſeminaries of hereſy. We remember the ſaying of a worthy miniſter of this church, who is now in glory. Speaking one day of the degeneracy of the preſent times, he obſerved, That the knowledge which poured in on us at the union of the two kingdoms was the cauſe of all the hereſy which has overſpread this land ſince that period. But as we are determined to adhere to our orthodoxy, no knowledge ſhall ever penetrate into our minds.

When we firſt heard ſuch a cry about knowledge, we were ſo weak indeed as to imagine that probably we might not be the worſe to have a little more of it.

But a very little reflection convinced us of the contrary. Had we needed any further degrees of knowledge, the reverend miniſters of this city would certainly have told us about it. They are our ſpiritual phyſicians, and they certainly know beſt when it is proper to give us any freſh recruits of knowledge, which is ſaid to be the food of ſouls.

We have heard, indeed, that this ſcheme for an academy has been commended by ſeveral country miniſters. But can the phyſician of an inſignificant country village be expected to have the ſame knowledge in buſineſs with his wealthier brethren who practiſe in large and populous cities? Can a country miniſter, the ſpiritual phyſician perhaps of ſome moorland congregation, be expected to know what ſpiritual regimen is proper for the inhabitants of Glaſgow, the mercantile part of the nation? beings, one may ſay, of a ſuperior order to the creatures with whom he uſually converſes. Knowledge of every kind, too, has always, with great juſtice, been valued according to the money that is made by it. A country miniſter, who earns only fifty pounds a-year by his knowledge, cannot be ſuſpected to have any conſiderable quantity of it. No ſober perſon will ever compare his underſtanding to that of a city miniſter, who gains triple the ſum by his knowledge. The country miniſter's knowledge can be neither very deep nor extenſive, when it brings him in ſuch a ſmall portion of money.

We mention theſe things, Brethren, that you may contract no favourable impreſſions of this academy from the opinion of theſe country miniſters. The miniſters of this opulent city have never expreſſed any liking to it; they have never made any motion toward getting it erected; we are therefore fully ſatisfied that it has a very dangerous tendency.

Let us now examine the advantages of the academy as they are ſet forth in that pamphlet.

In the firſt place, we are informed that this academy will inſpire us with a taſte for literature.—A fine accompliſhment, truly, for a man of trade! Will a taſte for literature improve his judgment in checks and handkerchiefs? Will a taſte for literature make him a better critic in the quality of tobacco? Will a taſte for literature bring any thing into his pocket? We believe it will rather be the occaſion of draining it. When once a city is ſo far left to itſelf as to contract a taſte for literature, it is immediately viſited with ſwarms of bookſellers. Like the locuſts mentioned in the prophecies, they will cover the face of the whole city. By bookſellers, however, we do not mean the worthy gentlemen who follow that occupation in this city at preſent. They have a ſpirit for trade, and deal only in catechiſms, and ſome few ſtaple articles fit for exportation. By bookſellers we mean your dangerous people who bring down books from England. Theſe books draw the minds of our youth entirely off their buſineſs, and introduce hereſy among them. And young people, by laying out their money on ſuch unprofitable articles, gradually wear off from their minds that ſerious ſenſe of its value and importance which is the main principle of the commercial life.

Nothing too can be more pernicious to a young man's trading principles than the maxims by which your men of taſte aſcertain the value of books. They do not value them by their weight, or the quantity of paper and print they contain, though theſe be the things that conſtitute their intrinſic worth. They value them, forſooth, by the fineneſs of their ſentiments, and the elegance of their ſtyle, circumſtances to which we pay no manner of regard. Some years ago, a country clergyman happened to be dining with an eminent merchant in this city: The converſation accidently turned on a political topic that was much talked of at that time: The clergyman obſerved that

a ſixpenny pamphlet that was lately publiſhed on that ſubject, was one of the moſt ſpirited and elegant papers that had appeared in this country for a long time. "Ay," ſays the merchant, who had not yet ſeen the pamphlet, "is there ought meikle reading in't for the ſiller?"—We in this city want always to have penny-worths for our money: We know how we came by it, and we do not chooſe to give it away but for its full value; and we are ſure no prudent man will blame us for ſo doing.

The authors of this propoſal would make us believe that a taſte for literature will be of great benefit to our morals: But for our part, we have never obſerved, in the courſe of our experience, that your men of knowledge were any way ſuperior to other people, in point of morals. Some philoſophers, indeed, tell us, that a taſte for literature refines the moral faculty, improves its ſenſibility, and renders it more delicate. But if this be the effect of literature, we deſire no further acquaintance with it. Delicacy of morals makes people heſitate at taking a bargain, and hinders them from embracing advantages which providence throws in their way in the courſe of trade.

There is nothing which has been oftener complained of, or which magiſtrates have been at more pains to ſuppreſs, though unſucceſsfully, than the pernicious practice of begging. Our begging poor are at preſent extremely numerous; yet if this academy ſhould unfortunately take place, we cannot ſee but they muſt increaſe prodigiouſly. We have heard that in times of popery there were certain vagrant monks, the repoſitaries of knowledge in thoſe days, who traverſed the country, laying the induſtrious part of mankind under contribution for their ſubſiſtence.—Now, when academies are once erected, and a taſte for literature and book-knowledge is become common among us, we ſuppoſe the *literati* will form themſelves into ſeveral mendicant ſocieties for carrying on

the ſame important purpoſes. Indeed, we cannot imagine how they will otherwiſe be maintained.—Knowledge is an enemy to trade, and we ſuppoſe it is equally unfavourable to every other kind of induſtry. And really from the great noiſe which the friends of theſe academies make about the importance of charity, we always ſuſpected they had ſome intention to ſet up in the begging way.

But this bleſſed academy will not only inſpire us with a taſte for literature, we are alſo told, in the ſecond place, that the knowledge which is to be got at it will enable us to make a better figure in company. Some people have really a prodigious ſtock of impudence!—Would any body, who was not loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, ever affirm ſuch a manifeſt falſehood? Who, in the name of wonder, appears with greateſt dignity in a company of merchants? or who is liſtened to with the moſt reverend attention? Is it not the richeſt men? and the man who can talk experimentally of the largeſt tranſactions? Was it ever heard that literary ſubjects were topics of converſation among the inhabitants of this city?—We believe no ſuch thing could ever be laid to our charge. You ſee, Brethren, it is not all ſcripture what theſe academicians tell us. This is a ſample of their fine morals.

But beſides theſe great and important advantages which the inhabitants of this city will derive from the academy, we are told it will likewiſe be an excellent nurſery for young clergymen. But we wiſh theſe gentlemen would inform us how a clergyman can be any thing the better of a great deal of knowledge. Will his being a knowing and ingenious man recommend him more effectually to any patron? We believe not. We remember very well that a certain clergyman was once recommended to a noble peer, who was long the patron of this city, as a proper perſon to ſupply the vacancy of a neighbouring borough. The clergyman's friends, to heighten his me-

rit, told the peer that he was a man of genius and ability. "I want none of your able men," replied the peer; "the laſt incumbent was a man of ability, and he managed the town-council in ſuch a manner that he could eaſily have turned them away from my intereſt, had he been ſo inclined. I want a weak man who will be ſubmiſſive to his ſuperiors, or at leaſt incapable of doing them any harm, ſhould he ever take it in his head to oppoſe them."

But will this knowledge be of any more uſe to him in gaining the affections of the people? We can aſſure him it will not. A clergyman who was not very popular, being preſented to a pariſh in this neighbourhood, his friends were willing, if poſſible, to reconcile the pariſhioners to him. For this purpoſe they told them that he was a ſenſible man, and had a great deal of learning. "We deſire no learned man," replied the pariſhioners, "we are a weak people, and we need an inſtructor whoſe underſtanding will be ſome way ſuitable to our own."

We would therefore adviſe ſtudents in divinity, inſtead of employing their time in an idle purſuit after knowledge, to attend the univerſity in the uſual manner. Though they ſhould get but a ſmall allowance of knowledge, yet by carefully obſerving the conduct of the profeſſors, they will learn how teinds may be managed to the beſt advantage. By diligently reducing theſe leſſons to practice, when they come to have pariſhes of their own, they will gradually grow rich; and their wealth will make them appear with dignity in the eyes of the country gentlemen; will give them an air of importance at a ſynod or an aſſembly; and will command the veneration and reſpect of the common people more than all the knowledge they could poſſibly acquire at the academy.

The authors of this ſcheme for an academy ſeem to have great dependence on the patronage of two of our moſt eminent citizens. We eſteem theſe two

worthy gentlemen, and we cannot think they will ever intereſt themſelves in this affair. We are rather of opinion, that they have been mentioned in that pamphlet only to make them ſuſpected by the friends of trade and religion. But their enemies have here miſſed their aim, for we are convinced of their innocence. One of them has long been at the head of public affairs in this city, and we are perſuaded he is a better politician than to introduce knowledge among the common people. If ignorance be not the mother of devotion, we are ſure it is the mother of obedience. Knowledge makes men aſpire to power, and enables them to oppoſe their governors. Hiſtorical knowledge particularly is very pernicious to government. We remember to have heard from a bookiſh exciſeman, who once lived in our neighbourhood, that the Greek and Roman hiſtorians, and ſome few modern ones too, give people ſuch notions of liberty as are quite incompatible with the dutiful ſubmiſſion which ſubjects owe to their magiſtrates. Now, as knowledge is ſo dangerous to the ſprings of government, we may hope that academies will always be diſcouraged by men in power. And unleſs the preſent ſcheme for erecting one in this city be countenanced by ſomebody in power, we will venture to foretel, without pretending to the gift of prophecy, that it will come to nought.

The authors of that pamphlet indeed ſeem to think that the inhabitants of this city may be driven into this ſcheme by dint of ſatire. But here they are quite out of their logic. Our preſent ſtate of ignorance, as they are pleaſed to call it, is attended with a certain firmneſs of mind, that makes us ſuperior to all attacks of this nature. Some people indeed are pleaſed to baptiſe this our firmneſs of mind by the name of ſtupidity. But if it ſhould be ſtupidity, we rejoice in the poſſeſſion of it. It puts us beyond the reach of the only weapon with which

poor devils, who are oppreſſed with poverty and genius, can attack their induſtrious adverſaries. We have heard of ſome weak people, who, by the power of ſatire, have been driven to hang themſelves. But we have no ſuch ſqueamiſh ſtomachs. We deſire theſe gentlemen to ſqueeze their brains till their ſatire be reduced to its very droppings; we will bear it with all that calm reſignation with which a Spaniard, for the good of his ſoul, allows himſelf to be whipped through the ſtreets of Madrid.

We have heard ſeveral conjectures concerning the authors of this propoſal for an academy. But to us it appears exceeding plain, that it has been contrived by ſome emiſſaries of the French king, with a deſign to extinguiſh our ſpirit for trade. The Grand Monarque knows very well, that if our trading ſpirit had once left us, the great conqueſts we have made this war would ſoon return to him. And we cannot help thinking further, that the propoſal for educating young clergymen at this academy plainly indicates a deſign of bringing in popery. What in all the world can they mean by making clergymen more knowing than other people? They certainly intend to bring the laity into a total ſubjection to the church, which is the very eſſence of popery. It is therefore our humble opinion, that the magiſtrates ſhould take proper meaſures for diſcovering whether there be not ſome Jeſuits in diſguiſe lurking about this city or its neighbourhood, and get them brought to condign puniſhment. We are told in the public papers, that whole ſhip-loads of Jeſuits have been lately imported to Britain; and we make no doubt but ſome of theſe miniſters of Satan are at the bottom of this propoſal for an academy. But from the vigilance and activity of our magiſtrates, we hope they will ſoon meet with their reward. The Jeſuits ſtill retain ſome fragments of the ancient apoſtolic ſpirit; when they are perſecuted in one city, they fly to another. Some of them,

driven from Glaſgow by the diligence of the magiſtrates, will probably harbour about the town of Paiſley; but as the inhabitants of your borough have always been diſtinguiſhed by a ſharpneſs of ſcent after hereſy, theſe delinquents will no doubt be immediately detected and brought to juſtice.

It is a moſt dreadful thing, Brethren, to fall into the hands of academicians. Did they only aim at the deſtruction of one particular branch of our commerce, we would poſſibly get over it; another branch might perhaps caſt up of equal or even ſuperior profit; but an academy, by corrupting the minds of our youth with book-knowledge, affects the very *ſtamina vitæ* of our trade.

As it is this city which is immediately threatened with the academy, ſome ſhallow people may poſſibly imagine that we only are concerned in defeating that project. But, Brethren, we hope better things of you. Your underſtandings ſurely are not ſo dull but that you will eaſily diſcern, at firſt view, that your own intereſt is very intimately connected with the ruin of this academy. The inhabitants of Glaſgow are the very ſoul of trade in this part of the kingdom; and ſhould their commercial ſpirit be extinguiſhed, the conſequences of it muſt ſoon be felt through the whole country. But, ſetting aſide this conſideration, you need not flatter yourſelves that theſe enemies of our trade will be content with making their ſcheme take effect in this city. Indeed they leave no room for conjecture concerning their after intentions. Towards the end of their pamphlet, they tell us plainly, that they make no doubt but academies will ſoon be erected in all the populous towns throughout the kingdom; and we ſuppoſe their impious endeavours will not be wanting in carrying on this helliſh deſign.

We obſerve, with inexpreſſible concern, that they have already met with too much ſucceſs in the north

country. The inhabitants of the royal borough of Perth, being ſeduced by them, have lately erected an academy. French emiſſaries indeed could hardly miſs making impreſſion on people who live ſo near the Highlands. We hope however that the miniſtry will have a ſharp eye on theſe gentlemen. Academies, as we obſerved before, are very dangerous to the government; and ſuſpected perſons ought no more to be truſted with knowledge than with arms.

Having accompliſhed their deſign in the town of Perth, they have made their next attempt on this city. And, no doubt, the eyes of the whole nation are fixed on us, and on you, Brethren, who live juſt in our neighbourhood, to ſee whether we will tamely ſubmit to their ſcheme, or ſhow ourſelves men in defence of our trade and religion. For our part, we are determined to act with ſpirit in this matter; and we beſeech you alſo to exert yourſelves on the occaſion. Let us unite our endeavours againſt the common enemy; and if, by our courageous oppoſition, theſe academicians are baffled in this attempt, we may hope that the inhabitants of other towns, animated by our ſhining example, will be able alſo ſucceſsfully to reſiſt theſe ſervants of the devil. We are,

Brethren,

Your moſt humble ſervants.

Glaſgow, }
June, 1762. }

P. S. If you think this letter may be of any ſervice in awakening people's attention to the dangerous tendency of theſe academies, you are at liberty to uſe it at your pleaſure.

THE

UNCORRUPTED INHABITANTS OF PAISLEY

TO THE

PUBLIC.

THE foregoing letter is a faithful warning againſt the deſigns of certain wicked perſons who are at preſent endeavouring to undermine our trade. Our worthy friends having allowed us to uſe their letter at our pleaſure, we thought we could not do the community a more ſeaſonable piece of ſervice than putting it into the hands of a printer. The importance of its ſubject muſt recommend it to the public attention more than any thing we can ſay in its favour. The attentive reader will immediately diſcern the great obligation he is under to theſe gentlemen for putting him on his guard againſt academies and their abettors. We believe there is no perſon who has been any time in trade, but can eaſily recollect, from his own obſervation, ſeveral inſtances of the bad effects of book-knowledge, the thing to be learned at academies. For our part, we always had a bad opinion of it. We have now and then, very ſeldom indeed, ſeen a bookiſh weaver ſtart up among us; but he never made any figure in buſineſs: In a year or two, he either died of a conſumption or liſted to be a ſoldier. It is no wonder, therefore, though we be alarmed at the approach of theſe academies with their book-knowledge; and as we do not chooſe to be wanting in our duty on this occaſion, we take this opportunity of declaring, in a public manner, that we are firmly reſolved to ſecond our Glaſgow brethren in their ſpirited oppoſition to them.

Theſe academies are not only dangerous to trade,

they ſeem alſo to threaten our church with an inundation of hereſy. We would therefore recommend this matter to the moſt ſerious attention of the very reverend ſynod. We might here inſiſt on the obligation the ſynod is under to pay a proper regard to our recommendation. The inhabitants of Paiſley have always been diſtinguiſhed by their zeal for the church. It does not indeed become people to ſpeak of their own attainments; yet we cannot help obſerving, and we do it without vanity, that we have been the occaſion of more buſineſs to church-courts, for theſe laſt ten years, than any two boroughs within the bounds of this ſynod. It well becomes the ſynod, therefore, to liſten to what we recommend to them. We are perfectly well acquainted with the reſpect that is due to a good cuſtomer; but, however, we ſhall not inſiſt upon it at preſent. The cauſe now before us recommends itſelf. It is the cauſe of trade and religion; and we think the ſynod ought to glory in being the defenders of theſe valuable enjoyments.

We ſhall not pretend to ſay in what manner the very reverend ſynod ought to proceed in this affair. There was a time when excommunication might have been very profitably applied to theſe academicians. But we, alas! live in a degenerate period, when the beautiful diſcipline of the church is quite diſregarded. Though our brethren in the neighbouring church have fallen into ſome errors, yet they have not loſt all regard to religion among them. Excommunication can ſtill take away a man's moveables, unleſs he give proper ſigns of repentance in a few days. Such a powerful excommunication would be particularly uſeful among us at preſent. When a man loſes his effects, he alſo loſes his influence over others. An academician in low circumſtances could not be very dangerous. No gentleman of rank or character would regard him. His reaſonings about the advantages of an academy would meet with no credit; for his un-

derſtanding would naturally be ſuſpected to labour under the ſame poverty and meanneſs with his perſon.

But though church cenſures in this country are contemned by the laity, they are ſtill very formidable to the clergy. And as our Glaſgow brethren inform us, that ſeveral country miniſters have been heard to ſpeak favourably of theſe academies, we think the very reverend ſynod ought immediately to apply the EXCISION to theſe gentlemen. A worthy miniſter of this church, one of her burning and ſhining lights, has fully explained the nature and uſe of that ſpiritual inſtrument, in a ſermon which he publiſhed about five months ago; and certainly there cannot be more proper ſubjects for exerciſing it on than theſe corrupt members, who have diſcovered ſuch ſymptoms of an inclination to hereſy.

Paiſley, Sept. 29. 1762.

LETTER

CONTAINING A

DEFENCE OF THE COLLEGE OF G———W,

Againſt an inſidious Attempt to depreciate the ability and taſte of its Profeſſors.

Sir,

THE ſurpriſing ſucceſs with which it has pleaſed God to bleſs his majeſty's arms, and the auſpicious birth of a Prince of Wales, are events ſo glorious as might be ſuppoſed to inſpire joy into every loyal Britiſh heart, and give a flow of proper expreſſions even to the rude and unlearned in their addreſſes to the Throne.

When, therefore, I looked into the newſpapers, and and ſaw an addreſs from the Univerſity of Glaſgow, I expected ſomething ſpirited, and which might come with propriety from ſo learned a ſociety. But I was beyond meaſure aſtoniſhed to find it conceived and expreſſed preciſely in the following terms:

"To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

"The humble Addreſs of the Chancellor, Rector, Principal, Dean of Faculty, and Profeſſors of the Univerſity of Glaſgow.

"*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

"WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the chancellor, rector, principal, dean of faculty, and profeſſors of the univerſity of Glaſgow, moſt humbly beg leave to congratulate your Majeſty upon an event which has given ſo much joy to all your faithful ſubjects, the birth of a prince, the natural and legal heir of your Majeſty's crown and of all your dominions.

" Your Majeſty's ever dutiful and loyal people cannot but rejoice at an event which tends to perpetuate that family, under whoſe mild and equitable government they have enjoyed ſo much proſperity and happineſs. Their fond hopes and affectionate expectations already regard their infant prince as born to inherit, not only the throne, but the virtues of his father and of his anceſtors; and if it ſhall pleaſe the all wiſe Diſpoſer of kingdoms and empires to preſerve his precious life, they already flatter themſelves that their poſterity will enjoy under his reign the ſame entire liberty, the ſame exact juſtice, the ſame undiſturbed ſecurity at home, and the ſame dignity and conſideration, the ſame glory and martial renown among foreign nations, which have diſtinguiſhed, in the annals of Great Britain, the reign of your Majeſty, and of your Majeſty's ever reſpected and revered forefathers.

" We beg leave, at the ſame time, to take this opportunity of congratulating your Majeſty upon the many glorious ſucceſſes, the natural conſequences of a wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration, which have illuſtrated that ſhort period of two years, during which your Majeſty has reigned over theſe kingdoms. The reduction of Belliſle; the more important acquiſitions of Martinico, of Grenada and its dependencies, and of all the neutral iſlands; the capitulation of the Havannah, the chief city of the great and rich iſland of Cuba, and the key of Spaniſh America; the ſurrender of the ſhips in the harbour, the flower of the Spaniſh navy; the ſpirited attack and conqueſt of the Moro Caſtle, notwithſtanding its natural ſtrength, its numerous and well ſupplied garriſon, and the ſkill, valour, and inflexible magnanimity of its gallant defender; the ſpeedy recovery of Newfoundland; the entire expulſion of the French, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in numbers, from Hanover, and from the greater part of the county of Heſſe; and the generous ſupport which, in the midſt of a furious war

with the two moſt powerful nations on the continent, has been given to the king of Portugal, form a ſeries of events which cannot be paralleled by any period of equal length in the hiſtory of Great Britain. That thoſe triumphs of war may at laſt lead to that equitable, glorious and laſting peace, which your Majeſty, from a truly royal humanity and moderation, deſires to ſee eſtabliſhed; and that your Majeſty's royal conſort, our gracious Queen, and the young Prince of Wales, may long live to enjoy that ſecurity and tranquillity, which your Majeſty's beneficent magnanimity ſeems to wiſh might be diffuſed over all nations, is the earneſt prayer of your Majeſty's ever loyal and dutiful ſubjects.

"*At the College of Glaſgow, the* 29. *October* 1762."

This paltry, ill wrote, and unſuitable addreſs, is ſo unlike the performance of learned or ſenſible men, that it is highly preſumable it cannot be the addreſs of the College of Glaſgow. But how the genuine addreſs was altered, or new-modelled, or miſlaid, or wilfully ſuppreſſed, and how this pitiful paper has ſurreptitiouſly got into its place, is a matter of deep inquiry.

It is well known, that for a twelvemonth paſt many groundleſs complaints have been made againſt a very great miniſter, merely becauſe he is a Scotſman; and in ſuch factious clamours inferior people oftentimes intereſt themſelves with too much keenneſs. It is alſo known, that after addreſſes have been preſented to the king, they are delivered, without any further inquiry, to the publiſher of the Gazette: At firſt therefore I imagined that this Gazetteer, keen in the intereſt of the old miniſtry, had garbled the college addreſs, with an invidious deſign to exhibit the learned gentlemen in a ridiculous and contemptible light; concluding, that if he could make it be believed that the learned in this country are ſtupid and diſaffected,

it would naturally be inferred that other Scotſmen muſt be poſſeſſed of the ſame qualities to a ſtill greater degree. But when I reflected that the Gazetteer publiſhes by authority, and dares not falſify papers, though he were inclined to do it, I ſuſpected my conjecture might be wrong. I then imagined that the expreſs who was entruſted with the genuine addreſs, had, in a caſe of neceſſity, made free with it by the road; and being in a woeful perplexity on this occaſion, had imitated the conduct of the ſagacious Iriſhman, who, having loſt his maſter's letter, went about aſking every one he met to lend him a letter to replace it; accordingly, having picked up an old addreſs of ſome ſtupid borough, had, with the aſſiſtance of his landlord, over a mug of beer, altered, amended, and cobled it, ſo as might make it paſs for the addreſs of an univerſity: Or, that ſome malignant enemy to Scotland, hovering about the poſt-office, had by ſome artful method ſtolen the real addreſs, and ſubſtituted the foregoing ſilly paper in place of it. But which of theſe is the fact cannot yet be thoroughly aſcertained. It is however manifeſt, that a paper, which repreſents the learned gentlemen as diſaffected, ignorant, and even incapable of ſpelling Engliſh, muſt be a forgery: And it is alſo manifeſt, that the univerſity is dreadfully injured, and our poor country affronted and contaminated, while it is believed that this vile paper is the addreſs that was laboured by our univerſity. Some able hand may afterwards demonſtrate this to the conviction of all the world. In the mean time, a ſincere concern for the reputation of my country has prevailed with me to offer the following reaſons in proof of what I allege, that ſo this matter may appear in its true light, and our univerſity no longer lie under the imputation of illiterate ſtupidity.

The firſt paragraph is decent: And this appears to be a very artful contrivance of the forger, that ſo he might entice people to read what follows. He makes

the profeſſors to write a line or two like loyal and ſenſible men; then out he comes with his malice, and vents it to purpoſe, and forms a ſeries of improprieties and ridiculous blunders, 'which are not to be paralleled in any addreſs of equal length in the hiſtory of Great Britain.'

1. This impudent forger, whoever he was, makes the profeſſors to ſpeak abſurdly, and quite out of character: He repreſents them not in the capacity of addreſſers, but of informers, and makes them tell the king that his people are well affected: But a few perſons ſhut up in a college, and ſequeſtrated from the world, have of all others the leaſt acceſs to know how the ſubjects are affected: And had any in this country been diſaffected, would it have been their buſineſs to inform againſt them? Had this paper been really wrote by the profeſſors, they would have enlarged more upon their own loyalty than upon that of others.

2. This addreſs could not be the work of a learned ſociety, as not a word is ſaid in it about learning, nor ſo much as a wiſh for its improvement; and yet never was there, in any former reign, a fitter opportunity to mention the advancement of learning in an addreſs to the Throne. His Majeſty, it is well known, is a patron of learning and the elegant arts; and of this the profeſſors themſelves have been made ſenſible. How then could an addreſs come from univerſity gentlemen, wherein that which of all things was moſt proper to be mentioned by them is totally paſſed over in ſilence?

3. There are in this paper ſeveral remarkable inſtances of the art of ſinking, which learned men would never have fallen into: They congratulate his Majeſty upon the capitulation of the Havannah, and the ſurrender of the ſhips in the harbour; that he has driven the French out of all Hanover, and out of part of the county of Heſſe. Theſe periods are like,

> Under the Tropic is our language ſpoke,
> And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our yoke,

They firſt ſay that his Majeſty deſires peace, and then, "that his *beneficent magnanimity* ſeems to wiſh there might be peace." To ſay the king deſires peace, or that he ſeems to wiſh there might be peace, are both of them expreſſions highly indecent: They ſeem to imply, that there is either want of ſincerity or want of power in the beſt and greateſt of kings. Our king, bleſſed be God, can give, can command peace to the nations, whenever his wiſdom ſees proper to do it: He can do this as effectually as the greateſt or moſt glorious monarch in Europe could ever have done.

4. Some words in this paper are indeed very big and ſonorous, and ſome of the epithets are applied in a manner quite new. But while his Majeſty's *beneficent magnanimity* is acknowledged, the defender of Moro Caſtle is celebrated for his ſkill, valour, gallant defence, and *inflexible magnanimity*. This defender, not the defender of the faith, ſeems to be the hero in the addreſs. But if this defender of Moro was ſo ſkilful, ſo valorous, ſo gallant, ſo magnanimous, was not the Britiſh general who defeated him ſtill more ſo? If the vanquiſhed Spaniard muſt have ſo many fine epithets laviſhly beſtowed upon him, was the victorious Briton to have not ſo much as one word ſaid in his praiſe?

5. This paper could not come from the college, becauſe the pains-taking writers of it ſeem to be afraid leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of ignorance in chronology, geography, and about the comparative value of his Majeſty's acquiſitions. They tell the king that he has reigned two years; that the acquiſition of Martinico is more important than the reduction of Belliſle; and that the Havannah is the chief city of Cuba; that Cuba is an iſland; that it is a great and rich iſland; and that either the iſland or the city is the key of Spaniſh America. All this might have come with ſome propriety from a remote and diminutive borough, where the people were vain of hav-

ing read the newſpapers, and eager to diſplay their ſkill in politics and geography; but theſe are things which learned men needed not to have told the king, nor to have ſuſpected that they ſhould be deemed ignorant of them, except they had brought out all their knowledge.

6. The profeſſors are made to pray, "that our gracious Queen and the young Prince of Wales may live long to enjoy that ſecurity and tranquillity which his Majeſty's *beneficent magnanimity* ſeems to wiſh might be diffuſed over all nations;" but not ſo much as a wiſh is expreſſed that his Majeſty may live to enjoy that tranquillity himſelf. Unmannerly, ſhameleſs, black, manifeſt proof of forgery! But I ſtop ſhort, inclining to hide, if poſſible, an inſinuation of the baſeſt kind, which this impudent forger has couched here againſt the learned gentlemen.

7. Laſtly, Another convincing proof that the above addreſs is ſpurious, is its being ſo much inferior to that of the city of Glaſgow. Learned men, who are perpetually converſant in books, who read Geddes on the Compoſition of the Ancients, hear lectures on compoſition in the college, and peruſe excellent and incomparable ſyſtems of rhetoric, kept in manuſcript for their own improvement, muſt be ſuppoſed to acquire a correctneſs of taſte and ſtyle infinitely beyond what can be expected from merchants, who are almoſt conſtantly in a hurry of buſineſs, and have little time to acquaint themſelves with the beauties of fine writing; on which account, nobody ought to be ſurpriſed, if, in drawing an addreſs, the former have an evident ſuperiority over the latter. But here juſt the reverſe has happened; the merchants have far excelled the learned: The addreſs publiſhed in name of the learned ſeminary is a childiſh and wretched compoſition; in that of the city there is a conciſeneſs and propriety of ſentiment and expreſſion which pleaſe exceedingly: A complete demonſtration, one ſhould

think, that this college addreſs is ſpurious, and that the learned gentlemen have been cruelly abuſed.

Theſe are ſome of the particulars which induce me to believe that the above poor paper is not, nor can be, the production of the college. And if the authentic addreſs, that which was ſtudied, laboured, and compoſed by the joint efforts of ſo many learned men, can be diſcovered and ſoon offered to the public, it will gradually wipe off that diſgrace which the gentlemen have already ſuffered, and do as yet lie under, by means of the above inſipid and ſpurious paper.

Whether the learned and injured gentlemen will be ſo fortunate as to find out the forger, and in that caſe what puniſhment they will inflict upon him, is not ſo eaſy to determine: Whether they will chooſe to challenge him at pen-knife and piſtol, or knock him down with a mug of porter, or make application of the birch to his poſteriors, or ſend the printer to correct him in the manner he did a certain profeſſor, or raiſe a furious war againſt him at law, till they force him either to produce and publiſh the genuine addreſs, or make up another as good in its place, or elſe obtain *exact juſtice* and full damages againſt him, cannot be foreſeen. Perhaps, from their *inflexible* and *beneficent magnanimity*, from their truly academical humanity and moderation, and to ſave their money, they may "ſeem to wiſh, that when peace is diffuſed over all nations," there may be alſo an "equitable, glorious, and laſting peace," between them and this forger. They may in the mean time, from their innate greatneſs of mind, pocket up the affront; ſatisfying themſelves, that as they may probably have ſoon another opportunity of addreſſing the Throne, their periods then ſhall be ſo melodious, ſo magnificent, and ſo mellifluous, and their whole performance ſo noble and ſublime, as will perfectly convince the public that the one lately printed in their name was none of theirs; and indeed they ſeem to have wiſely planned

an event with that view. Then all will be right; their reputation, wounded by this baſe forger, will have a ſpeedy recovery; then they will write and clerk with as much elegance as any perſon or ſociety "in the four quarters of the terraqueous globe." In "their fond wiſhes and affectionate expectations, they may already regard their future addreſſes with wonder, and may already flatter themſelves that they and their poſterity ſhall for ever enjoy the ſame entire liberty to write juſt as they pleaſe, the ſame undiſturbed eaſe and tranquillity at home, the ſame dignity and conſideration, the ſame ſcholaſtic glory, the ſame literary renown among foreign nations, which have diſtinguiſhed, in the annals of the univerſity, their own college-reign, and that of their ever reſpected and revered predeceſſors."

I am, &c.

D———n,
Nov. 25. 1762.

DONALDSONIAD.

J——N D————N DETECTED;

OR,

An Account how the authentic Addreſs of the C——— was diſcovered.

In a Letter from A. M. Student in Divinity to C. H. Eſq.

Sir,

THE noiſe that has been made here about the falſifying of the C——e addreſs muſt, I ſuppoſe, have reached you. It is really an odd incident, and hath occaſioned much ſpeculation. But as the matter is now cleared up, and the authentic addreſs diſcovered, an account of this curious affair will probably be entertaining to you; and this I the more readily undertake to give you, as I have the following particulars from ſuch authority as may be depended upon.

With regard to the addreſs that was printed in the newſpapers, every one muſt have perceived (though no perſon had taken the pains to ſhow it in print) that it was ſpurious, and could not poſſibly be the production of a learned ſociety. But the queſtion was, how the C——e ought to behave in ſuch delicate circumſtances? For ſhould they diſavow the addreſs publiſhed in the newſpapers as being ſuppoſititious, whilſt they could not ſhow how it came to be ſo, the public would not believe them. "You have (it would be ſaid) preſented to his Majeſty a very ridiculous addreſs, and now, when all the world decries it as a ſtupid and pitiful compoſition, you diſown it, and pretend it was forged and vitiated." That ſuch like reflections would be thrown out in public

upon their disavowing the address, the society easily foresaw; and therefore, after long and mature deliberation, they at length took the resolution to acknowledge and defend it. There were some things in that spurious paper which were tolerable, others not quite absurd, and even the most gross and palpable blunders in it might admit of a plausible apology, or be varnished over with a specious colouring; for what is there so execrably stupid and absurd which the eloquence of a learned man, enforced by that veneration which is commonly paid to a learned society, cannot palliate and defend? Accordingly, this resolution being agreed to, the learned gentleman who had suggested it, agreeable to that magnanimity which characterizeth him on all occasions, made a further overture to the society. He offered to encounter personally the public ridicule, and openly pass himself for the author of the address. It is impossible to describe to you with what admiration and applause this proposal was received, and how suddenly it revived the sinking spirits and altered the dismayed looks of a dozen learned men:

> ———Tow'rds him they bend
> With aweful reverence prone;———
> Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
> That for the general glory he despis'd
> His own.———— MILTON, B. II.

And in a transport of gratitude it was voted upon the spot to dubb him D—— of L——, which was executed with all convenient speed; both to reward his public spirit, and also with this political view, that, being invested with doctorial honours, he might communicate a more powerful sympathy, and might more successfully influence others to go along with him in this affair, than, had he remained undignified, he could possibly have done. But though the inflexible Doctor exerted himself with great firmness as well as address, he had the misfortune to find very few per-

fons diſpoſed to beat time with him. There was one great difficulty which ſenſible men could never get over; they could never be perſuaded that a philoſopher, whoſe bowels yearn with ſuch ardent ſympathy for the great, that he maintains mankind are naturally prone to ſalute them with the oriental compliment, O king, live for ever! could poſſibly have forgot to wiſh long life to his Majeſty, when he was putting up that ſame devout prayer for others of the Royal Family: And with reſpect to his aſſeverations, theſe alſo had very little weight, becauſe it is well known, that with our more recent moraliſts, and even with ſome theologians, veracity is eſteemed to be but a ſubaltern virtue; a law contrived to bind the vulgar, but with the obſervation of which great ſouls, and eſpecially great politicians, may eaſily diſpenſe, for the ſake of a public, and even ſometimes for the ſake of a private advantage.

This project, therefore, not being attended with the ſucceſs that was expected, the ſociety neglected no means whereby they might diſcover the author of the trick that had been put upon them, but were quite at a loſs where to fix their ſuſpicions. At firſt they imagined that the author of a pamphlet concerning the Defects of an Univerſity Education, who had endeavoured to inſpire a belief that the cultivation of taſte and elegant literature was greatly neglected by the c——e, had fallen upon this artful way of giving the public a ſort of demonſtrative proof of what he had aſſerted; but as no facts caſt up to ſupport this ſuſpicion, they were obliged to abandon it. They next ſuſpected that the diſcarded porter, whom they had violently turned out of his office which he had four or five years ago purchaſed with a conſiderable ſum of money, in the faith of enjoying it for life, had, in the keenneſs of revenge, watched about the faculty room, got hold of the real addreſs, and either carried it off, or mangled it ſo as to put the higheſt

affront upon his late maſters; but upon examination this alſo proved to be but a groundleſs conjecture. At laſt, after many fruitleſs reſearches, and when they had almoſt quite deſpaired of getting light from any quarter to clear up this dark affair, it tranſpired, I do not know how, and began to be whiſpered in the c——e, that, about the time when the un——ty were preparing their addreſs, old J—n D—ld—ſ—n had been very buſy writing ſomething or other; that he had bought a ſtock of pens and half a quire of gilt paper; that he had alſo been obſerved going about among the ſtudents aſking how ſuch and ſuch words were ſpelled; and it was recollected, that ever ſince the news of the taking of the Havannah, J—n was perpetually raving about Veylaxcow (as he called him) the magnanimous Spaniard, and could talk of nothing elſe. All theſe concurring circumſtances, and others too, curious enough, made J—n to be juſtly conſidered as a ſuſpicious perſon; ſo that it was thought fit to ſummon him before his ſuperiors, and Pr—f—r ——— and two more were appointed as a committee to examine him.

But before I give you an account of J—n's examination, it may not be improper to give you ſome ſtrictures of his character, which is a pretty ſingular one.

Though J—n hath now been a member of a ſcholaſtic ſeminary about forty years, he is not in the leaſt covetous of money, which you will ſay is moſt wonderful, and perhaps you do not believe me; but I ſhall give you a proof of what I aſſert: Some years ago, when the king of Pruſſia's affairs were thought deſperate, Mr. R——t with a knot of politicians, were lamenting over him, and regretting that he muſt neceſſarily ſuccumb for want of money, J—n, who was in waiting as uſual, liſtened to their diſcourſe; and as he enters warmly into all the public concerns, cried out in the ardour of public ſpirit, "O, gentlemen, think ye five and twenty pound wad do him ony guid:

It is a' I hae made about the college, an' I'se send it to 'im wi a' my heart." This excited a loud laugh in the company, and J—n for his simplicity was long the joke of the college. Another thing remarkable about J—n is, that he is devoutly religious, that is, he hath a real though not a general religion. For though he breathes the thin infectious air of metaphysics, and converses much with young sceptics and pert freethinkers, he does not seem to have imbibed any of the present fashionable modes of opinion: Not but that honest J—n hath his peculiar conceits in philosophy; and, indeed, considering his long residence in a college, it would be most strange were it otherwise. One favourite notion of J—n is, that there exists a direct sympathy betwixt the two ends of man, or the two poles of the microcosm, as he learnedly expresses it, or as we express it in vulgar language, betwixt a man's head and his heels: And upon this principle he maintains, that a strict analogy may be observed between every one's natural manner of walking and his manner of thinking, and that to call a man eloquent, or feery o' the feet, is to speak of him in synonymous terms: And indeed it is surprising, that in the course of his observation within his academic sphere, he hath picked up so great a number of facts, which he adduces in support of his theory with amazing acuteness and propriety: For instance, he will tell you, that to be splay-footed and to present the broad-side of the foot foremost in walking, is a never-failing sign of gross stupidity, and a blunt unpenetrating understanding; and that to walk with the toes turned inward, is a sure diagnostic of narrow intellects and a contracted way of thinking: If a learned man walk the streets with an uncommon and stately stride, J—n pronounceth him a master of the Ciceronian period, and that he either is or will be the inventor of some strange and out-of-the-way system: If he hath a shuffling, awkward, and hobbling

gait, he calls it a ſymptom of a feeble unequal ſtyle: And if he trip and ſkip like a dancing-maſter, J—n takes it for granted that he will write and ſpeak in like manner, ſometimes piddling, ſometimes bouncing, and bewray the like pertneſs and petulance in his ſtyle that he does in his walk. J—n inſiſteth alſo, that an ambulatory p———r (as he expreſſes himſelf), that is, one who walks in the claſs whilſt he prelects to the ſtudents, is neceſſarily more eloquent than a ſtationary or ſedentary profeſſor, who reads or repeats his lectures ſitting or leaning his backſide againſt a deſk: And when he applies thoſe general obſervations to particulars, it is aſtoniſhing how exactly they tally. Thus honeſt J—n, you ſee, hath, like other great men, his own ſyſtem; and had he been a profeſſor, it is probable he would have expatiated upon it, and taught it with very great applauſe. But J—n does not value himſelf ſo much upon his diſcoveries in philoſophy as upon his knowledge in modern hiſtory and politics. Every newſpaper that is ſent to the c———e, J—n, after the example of Mr R———t, reads over three times from beginning to end without miſſing one word; by which means he has all the events of the late war, and all the public tranſactions, upon his fingers ends: Here lies the ſtrength of his erudition: Hereby he is very uſeful among the young folks, and communicates more knowledge to them than is done by ſome profeſſors of hiſtory. Indeed when he takes his walk in the c———e-court, encircled with a ring of ſtudents liſtening to him, he may be juſtly deemed a kind of teacher or profeſſor: But here too J—n diſcovers, that, like other great men, he hath his hobby-horſe, for he takes unaccountable attachments to particular perſons, and is eternally raving about valour, and heroiſm, and gallantry, and magnanimity, and martial renown: When Thurot was killed on the coaſt of Ireland, J—n declared publicly, that he had much

rather four of his Majeſty's firſt-rate ſhips had been ſunk than that the world had loſt ſuch a gallant captain. And when he read of the taking of Moro Caſtle, he ſeemed quite intoxicated (as I mentioned before) with admiration of the inflexible Veylaxcow, the hair-brained romantic Spaniard, who, you know, ſacrificed himſelf ſo madly upon the breach. Whether theſe extravagancies proceed from a crack in J—n's brain, or from the vanity of being thought a man of magnanimous and heroic ſentiments, (for honeſt J—n really fancies himſelf to be a bit of a hero) is a little dubious. However, upon the whole, J—n is thought a very honeſt man; was never accuſed of ſtealing a lump of coal, or even the end of a candle; would not for all the world make a lie; was ſeldom or never ſeen in any indecent paſſion, and lives upon amicable terms with all his fellow-ſervants of the c——: For theſe qualities, in Mr. Hutcheſon's time, when virtue was eſteemed to be ſomething real and ſolid, honeſt J—n was held in much eſteem both by the p——rs and by the ſt——ts: But of late, ſome newfangled fancies of ſympathy with the rich and great having got into the c——e, and nothing being now regarded but money, and pomp, and parade, J—n finding himſelf overlooked, as being but a poor man, became deſirous of retiring from buſineſs; and the reaſon he gave for this was perfectly agreeable to his theory, namely, that he was not now ſo eloquent, that is, not ſo feery o' the feet, as formerly. But it is time to return to the diſcovery of the addreſs.

When J—n received the ſummons to appear before his learned betters, though he gueſſed the occaſion of it, he was not in the leaſt diſmayed: He conſidered himſelf as the eldeſt conſtituent member of the ſociety: He was conſcious of his integrity, that he had talents and capacity equal to his office (which every one could not boaſt); and as to the addreſs, having heard the c——e reſound with encomiums

upon the elegance of its compoſition, and that it was thought worthy the learned d——r, he was rather vain on that head than otherwiſe: So that, except that he begrimmed his viſage a little more than ordinary by putting in a cart of coals that morning, J—n ſhowed as good a countenance upon the occaſion as any of the company: And it was lucky for him that the p——r, who was chairman of the committee, was a mild tempered mighty good kind of man, and no keen friend to the learned d——r who had boldly profeſſed himſelf to be author of the addreſs that had been printed.

Well, John (ſays p——r ——— when he appeared before the committee), what's this you have been doing? It ſeems you are grown feery o' the feet again. You have been writing an addreſs to the king?

Why trewly, gentlemun, (ſays John), ye are my guid and learnit maiſters, and thoch it be doan my ſell owr muckle honnir, as I ha' na' the lair, I winna' mack a lie and deney it. I did a' far the beſt, and far the credit and exonuration o' the c——e.

Pr. So John: You are really then the author of the addreſs?

J. D. Indeed am I. I houp ye winna' tack it ill. I did a' for the beſt.

Pr. And pray, John, what could be your reaſons for this ſtrange proceeding? Do you know the ſeven liberal ſciences? Do you know logic, and analytics, and ſynthetics? Can you write a paper better than our whole faculty?

J. D. Why, gentlemun, an' ye wad nae be angry, I wad tell ye a' frank and free. I ha' a real liking to the king: They ſay he is a guid honeſt king, and I thocht it wad do me guid to wret him far yins afore I die, and I houp hee'l no be the war for reading a paper of J—n D—ldſ—n's macking up; this was ae reaſon; and anither was, I feared that the learnit mun that undertuck to wret the addreſs, being apt to

fall into vagaries, wad forget the magnanimous man of the Moro, and a' the fine things that were dun i' the war, and ſo the king wad na' ken how we ſtiddy the newſpapers here, and ken about a' forran maitters at our c——e. And anither reaſon was, that as I ſaw diſputes running hy amang the maiſters, ſome ſetts wad be for pitting out what ithers wad be for pitting in, and this wad mar the ſpirit o' the addreſs; ſo I thocht it wad be better if it was a' dun bi' ane that cou'd gae throw it feerily and cannily, without being juſtled and jumbled as he wauked alang. And theſe are honeſtly my reaſuns for doing what I did. I tauld you before, I gat na the lair: I ken naething about your lectix and thetix.

Pr. The incident is curious; the reaſons given for it are curious; *ergo*, they are both curious. But pray, John, had you no aſſiſtance in penning the addreſs? Where got you all the fine words and grand epithets you have ſtuffed into it?

J. D. Ay, ay, Sir, whare ſud I get 'um but about the college, where they're always gaen thick and three fauld. O, Sir, I am not ſo eloquent as lang ſyne. I remember in Mr. Hutcheſon's time, whun words and things baith war' gaen about the college like peas and groats, and a' the lads tauked philoſophy then juſt as forthily as the Hiland lads tauk Greek now. I remember whun I wad be waiting on an Iriſh ſtudent at breckfuſt, he wad a poured out a firlot of bonny words: Then it was benevolins, and morril ſenſe, and ſenſe of honnir, and ſenſe of ordir, and ſenſe of hermuny in the works of creation: But now a' theſe are awa', clean awa' and out o' doars; and now it is ſympathy, and propriety, and beating of time, and if I may ſo ſay, and about feuds, and feudals, and monny mae oddious words. But I am not ſo feery i' the feet to be ganging about as I uſed amang the maiſters and the lads to pick them up. It is a' words, ye ken,

that ony body gets heer, and as they're gaen I get my nain ſkair o' them.

Pr. Indeed, John, and you ſeem to have a good ſhare of them. I'll warrant that when your hand was in for writing, you have been aſſiſting too at that mongril and daſtardly Donaldſoniad, which hath coſt us ſo much money to ſuppreſs?

J. D. O, Sirs! dinna' treat poor auld John that way. I wret nane o't: Gin I had it wad a been muckle better: Gin the learnit mun had geen me the four guineas, and the aſſiſtance yon lads gat, I wad a defendit my nain addreſs, and made 'em repent that middled wi't, without a' yon ſwearing, and abuſing Bunyan, and Flavel, and the Whole Duty of Man, and mocking at Hell and Sighs frae Hell, whilk are no things to be ſported wi'.

Pr. Hold, John, you muſt not throw out things ſo indiſcreetly, and give reaſon for any of us being ſuſpected of ſuch things.

J. D. Ay, ay; I ken what I ken.

Pr. Well, but keep it to yourſelf, or take care where you ſpeak it: And for the addreſs, ſince you would be writing one, why did you not put in ſomething about learning and the beaux's arts?

J. D. Trewly, Sir, I did intend, for Mr. F——s's ſake, to have ſaid ſomething about the bo's arts, and to hae tauld the king o' the bonny ſhow that we mak here wi' our pectures on his birth day; but the man o' the Moro ran ſae in my head, that I forgat it. O Gentlemun! he was a gritt mun, certainly he was bred at ſome gritt college, and nae doubt was a gritt mathematician, or a politician, or a logician, or a metaphyſician, or a———

Pr. John, this man of the Moro ſeems to have turned your head; but though you forgot learning and the beaux's arts, why did you forget purity of morals and religion? Theſe were very ſuitable topics to be in a college addreſs.

Here John ſcratched his head and ſaid nothing.

Pr. I ſay, why did you not ſay ſomething about purity of morals?

Here John gave a heavy ſigh.

Pr. Why did you ſay nothing about religion?

John ſhook his head three times with great violence, and then fetched a hollow and deadly groan. Recovering himſelf a little, he at laſt ſaid:

Gentlemun, it's no my buſineſs to ſpeak or tell you what I think about theſe maitters; but your addreſs is no tint; I teuk it hame wi' me whun I ſent awa' my nain, and gin ye like I'ſe gang and fetch you your ain addreſs: It is lying in a neuk of our ſaatfat, carefully preſerved, and juſt as fraſh as whun it was to ha' been ſent to the king.

So John went out, and returned with the authentic addreſs, (a copy of which I here incloſe to you) and the gentlemen of the ———, aſhamed and vexed as they were, yet finding they had to do with a poor old doating body, who had got a wild conceit into his head of writing to the king before he died, thought proper to let the matter paſs as a joke, ſeeing no better could be made of it. It was indeed evident, from the whole behaviour of the Chairman, that he intended the affair ſhould have an amicable iſſue. When he had finiſhed John's examination, he concluded the ſederunt by repeating in a diſpaſſionate and careleſs manner the following lines from Hudibras:

Quoth he, that man is ſure to loſe
That fouls his hand with dirty foes;
For when no honour's to be gain'd,
'Tis thrown away in being maintain'd.
'Twas ill for us we had to do
With ſo diſhonourable a foe.

With regard to the authentic addreſs, which is at laſt diſcovered in the manner I have related, I ſhall not endeavour to anticipate your judgment, eſpecially as I am not ſkilled in theſe matters. I ſhall only ob-

ſerve, that it is not quite ſo laconic and pithy as a former addreſs that was ſent up to be preſented to his Majeſty, conceived preciſely in the following terms: "May it pleaſe your Majeſty to fill up our vacant pr—fr—p;" but it runs upon ſuch points as are proper for an univerſity addreſs: For as the intereſt and improvement of trade, ſalutary laws and regulations in favour of civil liberty and the police of the country, are the natural topics for boroughs to enlarge upon in their addreſſes to the throne; ſo the intereſt of religion and morality, and the advancement of ſcience and taſte, are topics in like manner naturally appropriated to the clergy and the univerſities.

After all, I can hardly conceal from you a ſurmiſe that begins to gain a little credit here: Some connoiſſeurs are whiſpering about, with many ſignificant nods, that what I now ſend you is not yet the authentic addreſs which J—n D———n produced: They pretend to have got certain intelligence about ſome ſecret, ſtrange, and myſterious management in this affair, and do not ſcruple to affirm, that a certain weaver in town, an old ſcholar of Mr. Hutcheſon, was applied to, and prevailed upon (they do not ſay by whom) to draw up the addreſs incloſed. However, for aught I have heard, theſe ſhrewd, miſtruſtful, and inquiſitive gentlemen, are not very numerous; ſo that I believe I had beſt not have taken any notice of them at all, leſt I may have thereby raiſed ſome doubts in your mind. I have informed you at large concerning the current report, and if it ſhould happen that there is really ſome truth in what has been ſurmiſed, I ſhall ſoon write to you again, that you may not remain long in any uncertainty about this matter. I am,

Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant.

Glaſg. March 1763.

AN ADDRESS OF ———.

" *May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

" We, ——— ——— ——— ——— ———, moſt humbly beg leave to congratulate your Majeſty upon the birth of a prince; an event doubly grateful to your affectionate people, as it crowns your conjugal felicity with the joys of a parent, and the public felicity with the joyful proſpect that the ſame bleſſings we now enjoy under your Majeſty's government will be perpetuated to poſterity in the heir of your crown, and (as it is natural to hope) the heir alſo of your perſonal virtues.

" We beg leave at the ſame time to congratulate your Majeſty upon thoſe other joyful events with which providence hath been pleaſed to bleſs the auſpicious commencement of your reign; the glorious ſucceſſes of your arms againſt our proud and perfidious enemies; thoſe multiplied victories, thoſe vaſt and various acquiſitions which are become almoſt difficult to be enumerated: Theſe, the effects of your wiſe councils, will ever be acknowledged by your grateful people. But theſe are a ſmall part only of the bleſſings they have reaſon to hope for from the benign influence of your government. From what they have already experienced of your Royal virtues, they eaſily diſcern that the trophies of war will yield to thoſe of peace; that the former, acquired by your Majeſty with regret, as being built on the miſeries of mankind, will be infinitely ſurpaſſed by the latter, built upon their happineſs, and in acquiring of which your Majeſty can give full ſcope to the natural bent of your diſpoſition. What a raviſhing proſpect opens to your people on the eſtabliſhment of the peace, which your Majeſty's humanity inclines you to give to your proſtrate enemies! Taſte, and genius, and the fine arts, long drooping and neglected, find in

your Majeſty an enlightened judge, and at the ſame time a generous patron. Science and uſeful learning bloom again, cheered by the ſun-ſhine of your Royal munificence; integrity and economy diſplay themſelves in every branch of the adminiſtration; public ſpirit rears its head, and the baneful ſons of corruption deſponding fly before it. Illuſtrious theſe, and truly regal trophies, whilſt greater ſtill remain to be recounted. How have irreligion and immorality prevailed in theſe nations, to the diſgrace of human reaſon; till at length, animated by your Majeſty's example, the public in their eſteem prefer the man of correct morals to the faſhionable debauchee; the faithful and affectionate huſband prides himſelf in imitating your conjugal tenderneſs; and genuine piety, ſeated on the throne, is no longer the wanton ſcoff of the ſceptic and the profligate: Theſe are triumphs over ignorance, vice, and impiety, worthy human nature, worthy of your Majeſty; triumphs peculiar to yourſelf, and in the glory of which your generals and your admirals had no ſhare. Thus, whilſt you extend the Britiſh empire by your arms, you cheriſh and adorn it with your virtues, and unite in your Royal Perſon the exalted characters of the great Trajan and the good Aurelius. Long, therefore, under the peculiar protection of Divine Providence, may your Majeſty and your Royal Conſort ſhine, the delight and ornament of the preſent age; and may a faithful copy of your virtues, with all their bleſsful conſequences, deſcend to poſterity in the dear perſon of the Prince of Wales."

THE

TRIAL OF A STUDENT

IN THE

COLLEGE OF CLUTHA

IN THE

KINGDOM OF OCEANA.

INNUMERABLE are the advantages which we of this age enjoy, ſince the recovery and publication of Fingal and Temora. The primeval ſtate of our Celtic anceſtors is clearly ſet before us. Our ancient heroes appear to have been as valorous as Hector and Achilles, and our bards as able as ever Homer was to ſing and record their magnanimous feats.

In particular, one great bleſſing derived to us from theſe Gaelic ſongs, is, that we are made acquainted with new countries and iſlands, or old names of them at leaſt, which otherwiſe we could never have known; names ſo new, ſo ſonorous, and melliſluous, that they ſtrike our ears with delight.

The iſland of Oceana, the city and univerſity of Clutha, are amongſt theſe new diſcoveries; for I will venture to lay it down as an orthodox principle, and undeniable fact, in the beginning of this my hiſtory, that the name of Clutha hath never been heard of by any perſon in Great Britain, France, or Ireland, except by thoſe who have peruſed Fingal. But I would fain indulge the vanity of an author, and pleaſe myſelf with the hope that Clutha ſhall become univerſally known by the hiſtory I am going to write.

Whereabouts this Clutha is ſituated I do not find

to be particularly deſcribed. Our Celtic bards have been ſo rapt and poſſeſſed by the poetic fury, that their geography is the leſs exact. Oceana, however, appears to have been either in the great Atlantic Ocean, or on the eaſt ſide of it; or, for any thing that can now be demonſtrated to the contrary, it may have been ſome large province, and Clutha ſome ſort of ancient city within the four Britiſh ſeas. But where Clutha was, or what modern city was anciently called by that name, it is not my buſineſs or deſign to inquire. If the real facts which I tranſmit to poſterity are eſteemed honourable, any univerſity that pleaſes is welcome to aſſume the name of Clutha: If the facts are condemned, every univerſity is at full liberty to diſclaim that name, and to demonſtrate, by learned diſſertations, that it is not Clutha. But it is time to leave the introduction, and begin the hiſtory.

Chap. 1. It appears to every ſerious and thinking perſon, that Clutha muſt have been in a country where civil government was eſtabliſhed, and where learning was purſued; of the firſt a parliament is a proof, as an univerſity is of the laſt. We find that freedom of debate was believed to be the privilege of parliament. We read of eloquent ſpeeches delivered there; ſome parts of which will be afterwards particularly taken notice of in the body of this hiſtory. And though I am not to diſcuſs the point till I have received ſome ancient papers, which may furniſh materials for a future performance, the conſtitution ſeems to have been very different from any thing that exiſts at preſent; for the univerſity had a right to examine into, to judge, and to condemn the ſpeeches made in parliament, and even to degrade and puniſh thoſe who delivered them. All that was alleged againſt the ſtudent was wrong expreſſions. It was for words or improper expreſſions that he was forced to undergo that trial of which I write the hiſtory.

Chap. 2. Politicians, or political writers, have la-

boured to ſhow, that in the different ſtages or periods of ſociety, ſuch as the ſavage, the barbarous, the civilized, the commercial, the ſentiments and manners of men have been very different. But to me it appears, that the profeſſors of colleges have at all times, and in every period or ſtate of ſociety, been very much the ſame: Thoſe of Clutha pretended, and would have had it believed, that the proſecution which they carried on againſt one of their young ſtudents proceeded from their indignation againſt hereſy or profaneneſs. But the ancient inhabitants of Clutha could give no credit to their pretenſions, but ſuſpected that their keenneſs in that matter muſt flow from ſome motive of intereſt. They examined, and found that the whole affair had taken its riſe from a cauſe which many will think trifling. One of the profeſſors, who kept many boarders, had ſtill an empty room, and hearing of a rich lad, who was eaſy to maintain, he invited him to his houſe; he refuſed at firſt, but afterwards went; and the profeſſor by miſtake imagined his refuſal was owing to ſome advice he had got from the ſtudent who was afterwards ſo hotly perſecuted. In truth, no perſon in Clutha could bring himſelf to imagine, that a few improper terms in an extemporary ſpeech, without any other provocation, could raiſe ſuch an abiding rage in the breaſts of the mortified teachers of true orthodox belief.

Chap. 3. Here I beg the reader to indulge me the liberty of a ſhort digreſſion, becauſe it is but half a digreſſion. I am, and have ever been, much of the ſame opinion with the people of Clutha in the point mentioned in the laſt chapter. In all the church hiſtory I have read, and from all the obſervations I have made of kirk men and kirk courts, in the courſe of my life, I never met with a ſingle inſtance of a proceſs againſt error, hereſy, or impiety, which I could believe to ariſe purely from the love of truth and religion. If it ſhall be aſked, from what ſource, then,

do ſuch proceſſes ſpring? I anſwer, they ſpring from envy and hatred of ſuperior talents; from differing from ſome zealous divines, and thereby ſeeming to diſparage their underſtanding; or Titius the theologian raiſes a cry of hereſy againſt Sempronius the theologian, becauſe this laſt is like to ſtep into a fat benefice, which Titius had ſet his heart on, and thinks he much better deſerves. I have heard of a violent proceſs againſt a learned profeſſor, becauſe he called ſome clergymen, who afterwards became his perſecutors, ignorant, and country Maſs Johns. I knew a hereſy proceſs, founded on a ſermon that had been publiſhed for ſeveral years, and was believed to be ſound and good, ever till the author of it was juſt going to be advanced. But enough of this; Clutha is my ſubject.

Chap. 4. When Ruſſia proclaims war againſt Pruſſia, there is a real ground of that ſtep, and an oſtenſible one; the real one is kept in petto, and the oſtenſible one is publiſhed to the world. It was juſt ſo at Clutha: Not a word was ſaid about the boarder; the poor ſtudent was charged with ſome indecent and diſreſpectful expreſſions: He had alſo, it ſeems, with ſome degree of freedom, diſputed the juſtneſs or utility of ſome axioms about logic or metaphyſics advanced by one of the profeſſors, and had been liſtened to and applauded by his fellow-ſtudents. Beſides, he had joined with thoſe who oppoſed the views of ſome of the maſters at the late election of a rector; and it was ſuſpected he would act in the ſame manner at next election. He was allowed to be a lad of genius and application, of a lively imagination, and who ſpoke his meaning in bold and nervous expreſſions. He ſeemed to inquire, and think for himſelf; and, unhappily for him, one of ſuch a turn was at that time a very unwelcome ſcholar at the college of Clutha. The moſt part of the teachers had put over all their reading and inquiry when they were very

young, and were now unalterably fixed in a ſet of good, ſound, orthodox principles. Of theſe principles, indeed, they had but a few; but then thoſe they had were good enough; and they had ſuch love to their ſcholars, that they wiſhed them to think juſt as they thought: And they were ſo barren in ſtyle, that they had not above one phraſe to expreſs any particular ſentiment, and were ſo wonderfully wedded to their own peculiar phraſes, that if a ſtudent happened to expreſs one of their ſentiments in any other but their own words, they concluded that he differed from their way of thinking, and looked upon him with ſome degree of pity, contempt, or averſion.

Chap. 5. I am obliged, as a faithful hiſtorian, to take notice here, that there were, at this time, two parties or factions in the college. The moſt numerous conſiſted of fellows ſuch as I have deſcribed in the fourth chapter. They were, moreover, generally of a recluſe, unſocial temper; owing either to imbecillity of body, or unwillingneſs to keep company for fear of being put to expence. In the other party there was one who was eſteemed a thorough ſcholar, and another, a ſcholar alſo, of a liberal turn, and who had ſeen the world; and ſome two or three more, whoſe characters the memoirs of Clutha have not very exactly tranſmitted to us. But it happened, that if a ſtudent was in the good graces of the one faction, the other was ſure to diſlike him, and do him what ill offices they could. Each party was intent upon encouraging thoſe only who adhered to it, by recommending them to be tutors to young gentlemen, or to burſaries, which were annual ſums of money provided for the ſupport of ſtudents at Clutha. And from what I have already faithfully narrated, it will eaſily be believed that young lads were ſeldom in any caſe, never by the prevailing party, recommended or provided for on account of their learning, but for the narrowneſs of their notions, and for that humbleneſs

of ſoul which fitted them to be the ſubaltern tools of faction.

Chap. 6. It hath been affirmed by grave politicians, that a little faction in any ſtate or community is not a very bad or dangerous thing, provided it be kept within tolerable bounds, and the keenneſs of party rage be reſtrained, or conducted by good manners. Faction, thus managed, they allege, ſtrengthens and enlarges the powers of the human mind, and brings forth thoſe latent talents which otherwiſe would never have appeared. And they think they prove the point by what, in fact, happened at Athens and Rome, where, in times of faction, the ableſt ſtateſmen, the completeſt generals, and the moſt eloquent orators, were produced: But though this may be the caſe with reſpect to civil communities, I apprehend, that with reſpect to literary ſeminaries, ſuch as the college of Clutha, factions muſt ever produce the moſt lamentable effects. When the teachers are known to be ſplit into factions, to live at variance, and to deſpiſe and hate one another, this, at any rate, muſt have a fatal influence upon the ſtudents; for, either they muſt look on ſtrife and contention as no vices, or not inconſiſtent with a virtuous character, and ſo enter into the pitiful views of their reſpective maſters, and hate and revile thoſe whom they hate; or elſe they muſt deſpiſe their maſters as vicious and immoral, and grow indifferent about the lectures they deliver, be they ever ſo ſenſible and beautiful.

Chap. 7. It was not any immoral action with which the ſtudent at Clutha was charged, but expreſſions thrown out in extemporary ſpeeches, alleged to be indecent or abuſive: Theſe expreſſions were, that in endeavouring to ſhow that adverſity is more favourable to virtue than proſperity, after advancing other arguments, he ſaid, that the poſition might be illuſtrated from what had been the ſentiments of the writers of romance and of real hiſtory; he ſaid, "The

pious Eneas and the diſintereſted Don Quixote;—the ſon of Sophroniſcus and the ſon of Mary, triumphed in adverſity." On another occaſion, when it had been alleged by ſome gentlemen that the preſent methods of teaching morality were defective, and by others, that that defect was ſupplied by ſermons from the pulpit, he ſaid, "that morality would be better taught at a well regulated theatre" (ſuch as was deſcribed in a petition given in by the magiſtrates of Clutha, and a very perfect one indeed it was) "than by ſermons in which morality was ſo ſeldom inſiſted on, and ſo much was ſaid on the trite doctrines or ſubjects of faith and repentance." He alſo alleged, that "the inhabitants of Clutha were, in conſequence of commerce, ſordidly avaricious; and that the ladies of Clutha needed the amuſements of the theatre, becauſe, having no ſuch diverſion, they lived recluſely, and ſat up too late playing at cards, by which they loſt their bloom, and brought diſeaſes on themſelves, which occaſioned their death." And, laſtly, he is charged with having ſaid, "that the youth would be better inſtructed or entertained at the theatre than in the drowſy ſhops of logic and metaphyſics."

Chap. 8. The whole expreſſions judged by the profeſſors of Clutha to be ſhocking or impious, are faithfully ſet down in the former chapter of this hiſtory: And, according to all accounts, they were uttered ſome time in the winter or ſpring immediately preceding this remarkable trial: And that it may appear, that though in the geography or topography of Clutha I am not perfectly inſtructed, yet, in point of chronology, I am accurate even to a day; I can aſſure the reader, that one of the ſpeeches was delivered juſt five weeks and five days before the college began to take the precognition: And it is evident, from the depoſitions of a cloud of witneſſes, that, during all that time, there was in the city of Clutha no complaint of the ſpeech, nor any fault found with ſo

much as a ſingle expreſſion in it, except by one individual perſon, whoſe particular notions and views I have not been able to learn exactly: But it is in proof, that the inhabitants of Clutha who had heard the ſpeeches, ſo far from being diſſatisfied, did highly and univerſally commend them; ſo that it was believed that theſe commendations helped on the criminal proceſs, juſt as the commendations given to the ſermon I mentioned before ſtirred up the envy and animoſity of the warm theologians againſt the author of it; which, together with the grief which ſome of them felt at his being advanced, made them violent and furious in a proceſs of hereſy before the eccleſiaſtical courts.

Chap. 9. There were only two ſpeeches upon ſome expreſſions of which the learned profeſſors founded their criminal indictment. One of theſe ſpeeches was in the very parliament of Oceana, and the other in a numerous club called the general ſociety. In the one of theſe aſſemblies ſeven or eight of the learned profeſſors were in the mean time preſent; in both of them, beſides ſtudents, there were preſent a great number of the nobility, the beſt educated inhabitants and enlightened merchants of Clutha: And in order to throw light upon the ſubſequent part of this memorable hiſtory, it is proper to remark here, that in neither of the ſpeeches was this unfortunate ſtudent interrupted, no perſon called him to order, no profeſſor, no citizen of Clutha ſhowed the ſlighteſt diſapprobation of any of thoſe expreſſions which afterwards kindled ſuch a pious fury in the ſouls of the profeſſors, were made uſe of as the ſubject of a criminal indictment, and brought the young man into ſo ſmart and long diſtreſs: And to this day it is myſterious and altogether unaccountable, that expreſſions which appeared no way ſhocking when they were uttered, ſhould appear ſo at ſo great a diſtance of time when they were recollected.

Chap. 10. The prevailing party of Clutha college

having, for the reaſons hinted at above, and others to be afterwards explained, conceived a permanent and implacable rage againſt the ſtudent, and having been ſecretly at uncommon pains to paint him out to the loweſt and moſt bigotted part of the citizens as a dangerous heretic and a profane infidel, thought it was now time to fall openly to work. With this view, ſome of them alleged, in a college meeting, that there was a *fama clamoſa* againſt the ſtudent; but others declared, they had not till that moment heard of any ſuch *fama;* and one profeſſor proteſted, that thoſe who had made the motion ſhould be held as informers againſt the ſtudent and the raiſers of the *fama clamoſa*. This frightened and checked them for a little; but they ſoon recovered their ſpirit, and ſummoned a great number of citizens, of merchants, and ſtudents, to find out before-hand what expreſſions the ſtudent had uttered, how ſhocking they appeared, and what impiety was implied in them. Four or five of theſe profeſſors, who were to be judges in the matter, offered themſelves as witneſſes, and were precognoſced: And, as they had contrived this criminal proceſs, and were ſo eager to find grounds for commencing it, it will not appear ſtrange, that their declarations were, of all others, the moſt acrimonious and ſevere. Beſides, as none of thoſe profeſſors were any way remarkable for the practice of morality, ſo none of them had ever been reputed very ſtrict in the principles of orthodox belief. This laſt part of their character they were ſenſible of, and hoped to avail themſelves of it: For they expected, with great confidence, that the citizens of Clutha would univerſally conclude, that theſe principles muſt be perverſe and dangerous to a very extraordinary degree, which had drawn on a perſecution from ſuch profeſſors. They believed, therefore, that as ſoon as the proceſs ſhould commence, the ſtudent would be looked upon with univerſal hatred and contempt by the inhabitants of Clu-

tha. But they were miſtaken, as the ſequel will demonſtrate.

Chap. 11. It is agreed I believe among political writers, that human ſociety, after a long progreſs in civiliſement and refinement, verges back again to corruption. And this too, it would ſeem, is the caſe with reſpect to colleges; at leaſt it muſt have been ſo with reſpect to that of Clutha. It was certainly at this time in a lamentable ſtate of darkneſs and the vileſt corruption. In any former period of that college, if a ſtudent had uſed improper expreſſions, or even erred in opinion, or committed ſome ill action, the maſters, feeling the tutorial, and even parental affection, would have ſent for him to their houſes, inſtructed him in private, and admoniſhed him, that, for the future, he might avoid every thing in his behaviour or ſpeech that was wrong or might give offence. But at this time the benighted and inhumane teachers were utter ſtrangers to their duty, and to all the ſoft and tender ſentiments of the heart. Though this was confeſſedly the ſtudent's firſt offence, they diſdained to inſtruct, to admoniſh, or correct him. They allowed themſelves to think of nothing but meaſures the moſt inquiſitorial and ſevere; ſo that one is tempted to ſuſpect, that at this time ſome cruel and pitiful Jeſuits, driven from the northern parts of Spain, or of Portugal, or of ———, had, by diſguiſing themſelves, got into that poor unhappy college, and were now beginning to unmaſk themſelves.

Chap. 12. For ſeveral weeks the ſtudent had obſerved that his maſters did not look upon him as formerly. He ſaw, in their eyes and geſtures, evident marks of anger and averſion: And as he had liberally paid them, and gave all the attention he could to their lectures, he was at a loſs to underſtand the reaſon of their being diſſatisfied with him. He ſaw them often in whiſpering converſations with the college ſervants, and with the moſt bigotted and fanatical perſons in

the city, whose company almost all university men had ever hitherto avoided. By degrees he learned that these servile and ignorant people were hounded out to inflame the city against him, to raise what was called a *fama clamosa*, and to prepare matters for a precognition. This he looked upon in the tremendous view of a determined and merciless inquisition: He was alarmed and terrified in a very high degree, anxious and dissipated by day, and in the night could neither sleep nor rest. In this unhappy situation he often threw himself in the way of the most furious of the professors; but they looked on him with disdain, and declined to converse with him: He, therefore, once and again, wrote letters to them, in a very submissive strain, explaining the terms that he now heard were thought offensive, and disclaiming any wrong belief with respect to religion, or any disrespect to any of the sciences. But these letters gave the masters no satisfaction: He then went round to the house of every professor, declared he was sorry he had given offence, and offered, that if they would lay aside the thoughts of expelling him, he would submit to any admonition or rebuke which they should judge reasonable. One of his friends also waited on all the professors, and made the same offer: But all their offers were equally fruitless; severe measures were already agreed to; a criminal trial, by the issue of which it was resolved to strip the student of his bursary: And it was impossible, by any submission or repentance, to bring these teachers of benevolence and humanity to relent in the slightest degree.

Chap. 13. I have related above, that much artifice and pains had been employed to inflame the city of Clutha against the young logician; and as in one of his speeches he had used some unpremeditated expressions, which were construed in a bad sense, and alleged to refer to that people, it was no doubt expected, that their indignation would arise against a

perſon, who, it was affirmed, had abuſed them; and it is beyond all doubt, that it was with this view that ſuch expreſſions were publiſhed in the city: But the citizens of Clutha judged and acted quite differently from what the profeſſors wiſhed and expected. No ſooner did the generous inhabitants of that city hear that a violent proſecution was reſolved on, founded upon cauſes which to them ſeemed totally groundleſs, but they inſtantly determined to ſupport the perſecuted ſtudent: They ſubſcribed a paper, binding themſelves to lend him money to defray the expence of ſo unneceſſary and ſpiteful a proceſs. This contribution in the cauſe of liberty, and to ſupport a young perſon who was a ſtranger (for he had reſorted to the college from ſome diſtant part of the iſland), is an illuſtrious part of the character of the citizens of Clutha: For it is a demonſtration, that however deeply that ancient people were engaged in commerce, they were of a liberal turn of mind, and when they ſaw a proper occaſion, intereſted themſelves in behalf of a poor and innocent ſtranger, in oppoſition to the tyranny of bigotted pedants and furious eccleſiaſtics.

Chap. 14. It may, however, without any ſort of reflection, be well ſuppoſed, that the inhabitants of Clutha were not all of the generous ſentiments I have juſt now taken notice of; there were many in that city, whoſe hearts were hardened by means of commerce; many, who had never read any other book but thoſe which conveyed the narroweſt ideas about religious belief, and which ſeem to have been much of the ſame kind with thoſe called chapman books, ſo much complained of in the preſent age: In ſhort, there were many of the people, who had all their lives trembled to converſe with any perſon, who, upon the moſt abſtruſe and diſputed points, was believed to think any ways differently from themſelves; many who, ſince they travelled with a pack upon their backs, had never travelled beyond the ſuburbs

of the city; and some who conversed and disputed with none but five or six persons who lived next to their shops. All the above sorts of people had this remarkable ingredient in their character, that whenever an ill thing was said of any man, they, without any examination, immediately, and thoroughly, and stubbornly believed it, however improbable it might appear: Besides, all this body of people I now speak of, were, in their religious ideas, entirely guided by the lower presbyters, which seem to have been a kind of demagogues in that age and place. By the great activity of the professors, a few of these leaders had been gained, and some kind of alarm began at last to rise in the city. Though the expressions uttered were no other than I have mentioned, the report of the student's lax principles being once set on foot, he was, by degrees, painted out in blacker and blacker colours; and from the above expressions, thrown out at random, came at last to be suspected by some of the lowest inhabitants of Clutha, of Socinianism, of Deism, and even of infidelity; some of which terms, as he was so young, he had probably never heard of; and no reasonable person did imagine that any of these perverse ways of thinking had ever entered into his head.

Chap. 15. Such was the situation of things at Clutha, when the college came to the fatal resolution of giving an indictment: The student was alarmed; the best part of the citizens eager to support him; the professors still more eager to prosecute him; and the meaner part of the citizens imagining, by this time, that he had some wrong principles, were some of them indifferent, some of them content, some desirous, and others zealous to have him condemned, and expelled the college. Simple expulsion would indeed have been no censure or punishment at all; for at this time the college of Clutha was in a very sorry and pitiable situation: Not above one or two of its

profeſſors were any ways eminent for talents: The capacity of the greater part of them was not above that of a very ordinary country ſchoolmaſter; and if they had ſet up to teach out of a college, no man would have truſted them with the education of his ſon; ſo that to be expelled from ſuch a college, might, by intelligent people, be eſteemed a favour rather than a puniſhment. But then this ſtudent had got and enjoyed a rich burſary, and, by expulſion, he would have been ſtripped of it: And, as an accurate hiſtorian, I muſt remark, that he had obtained this burſary, which had been mortified by, and was in the gift of a noble family, in oppoſition to thoſe profeſſors who were now intent to have him expelled; and who hoped by that means, as was believed, to get the burſary to a ſtudent whom they had formerly recommended. This view, it was univerſally believed, rendered them the more ſanguine in the proſecution. Indeed, I can with great truth affirm, that this burſary was the ſole cauſe of this criminal proceſs; for, if the young logician had not enjoyed it, he would, upon the ſlighteſt diſguſt of the profeſſors, have quietly, and even gladly departed from their college; for young as he was, though he reverenced them as his maſters, he had too much quickneſs not to diſcern, that they were moſt of them totally unqualified for the offices into which, by intrigue and faction, the vileſt of all talents, they had been called.

Chap. 16. After fifty meetings of the prevailing party, where the other faction either were not admitted or did not chooſe to attend, they agreed on the meaſures they were to purſue. With great attention they examined the precognition, and found there was ample foundation for a trial: There were ſix or ſeven of them who concurred in this ſtep; and at firſt they were determined that the libel or indictment ſhould be given by the college: But though they were engaged in the buſineſs, they were willing

to avoid the name and character of inquiſitors; and with this view they endeavoured to conceal their rigour by a gauze covering, which was eaſily ſeen through: They chooſed a procurator-fiſcal, *pro re nata*: They were to be judges in the matter, and four or five of them were eagerly deſirous to appear as witneſſes: And by this ſilly artifice, of chooſing a procurator-fiſcal, they hoped ſo to blindfold the people, that they ſhould not be alſo held as proſecutors. But beſides that this ſtep was believed to be illegal, and what they had no right to, it failed of the effect they deſigned by it. The whole people of Clutha ſaw and believed them to be the proſecutors; and when they fooliſhly ſaid, that not they but the procurator-fiſcal was the proſecutor, a ſpirited witneſs briſkly told them to their face, in open court, that they were in fact the proſecutors, and that he looked at realities rather than appearances.

Chap. 17. On a Thurſday, which anſwers to the 2d day of our June, the criminal court was opened. The maſters of the college appeared in their beſt gowns. One of them aſſumed the character and office of vice-rector (for the lord rector was not yet arrived.) All of them took their ſeats with an awkward ſolemnity and pomp, which, in truth, excited a mixture of contempt and ridicule: One gentleman in court, who either was or expected to be a judge, could not help ſaying, upon the occaſion, ſo loud as to be overheard, *Simia quam ſimilis turpiſſima beſtia nobis.* They had but an uneaſy time of it; for they could not but obſerve, from the very looks and air of the ſpectators, that there was not a ſingle perſon preſent who did not condemn the judges, and was affectionately intereſted on the ſide of the pannel.

Chap. 18. The judges being ſeated, the procurator-fiſcal produced and read the indictment, which was tedious, conſiſting of three or four ſheets of paper battered together; but it was exactly to the ſol-

lowing purpose. You ————, student and bursar in this college, having thrown off all fear of God, respect to religion, and reverence for the sciences, and the learned professors of this university, did maintain, that adversity is more favourable to virtue than prosperity; and in proving that point from romance and real history, you said, that the pious Eneas and the disinterested Don Quixote;—the son of Sophroniscus and the son of Mary, triumphed in adversity. And at another time, when one in the club complained, that the present methods of teaching morality were defective, as being altogether theoretical, and not calculated to mend the heart; and another had said, that that defect was supplied by sermons from the pulpit; you did deny that it was so supplied, and alleged profanely, that sermons were too often on doctrinal points, and on the trite subjects of faith and repentance, and that morality might be better taught by the theatre. You also said, that the merchants of Clutha were sordidly avaricious; and that the ladies, by their recluse way of living, and by sitting up too late playing at cards, lost their bloom, and brought diseases on themselves, which occasioned their death. Nor did you stop at all this, but proceeded to talk ignorantly, disrespectfully, and contemptuously of the learned sciences, by saying, profanely and impiously, that the students would be more improved or better entertained at the theatre than in the drowsy shops of logic and metaphysics; by which you plainly discovered your malignity, and your secret contempt of the learned and ingenious professors who teach these sciences. All which, or any part thereof, being proved, you ought to be punished with expulsion, or otherwise censured.

Chap. 19. The indictment consisted of many more words, but not of more ideas; for I have faithfully narrated the full substance of it. The pannel denied it in common form, and gave in a paper containing

an explication of the expreſſions libelled, which was much the ſame with that given in the two letters he wrote to the profeſſors before they began to take the precognition. The judges were not ſatisfied with the explication, and Comalo appeared as counſel for the pannel. Comalo, as I have learned, was either a relation of, or deſcended from the ancient Comalo, ſo much celebrated in Oſſian's Poems. This young lawyer was in ſtature rather below the ordinary ſize; but when he appeared in court, there was a ſtern ſeverity in his looks, and becoming dignity in his manner, which ſtruck every perſon with awe and reſpect. He made a very accurate and manly ſpeech, in which he objected to the competency of the court, and the relevancy of the libel. He maintained, that ſome of the expreſſions libelled, as ſeeming to imply a very high crime, were only cognoſcible by the high juſticiary court; that if the college had any power of that ſort formerly, it was entirely aboliſhed by the juriſdiction act: He objected particularly to the ſtep of chooſing a procurator-fiſcal, which he ſaid was dangerous, as it was erecting themſelves into a criminal court without any authority, and contrary to law. He concluded with aſſuring the profeſſors, that he had a ſincere regard for their college, that he ſaw them purſuing dangerous meaſures, at which their rival colleges would laugh and rejoice: He therefore requeſted them, that, for their own ſakes, they would deſiſt, and take no further ſteps in a matter where they had taken many illegal and unwarrantable ſteps already; that if they ſhould perſiſt, he did not know what might be the conſequence. In ſhort, he told them, that, in his opinion, the explication now given was enough to ſatisfy any reaſonable perſon; but if they were not yet ſatisfied, if they would but eraſe the word expulſion in the libel, he engaged that his client would juſt now ſubmit to any rebuke or admonition they ſhould judge proper. Every perſon

preſent, who had the leaſt degree of good will to the college, ſincerely wiſhed that they might be ſo wiſe as take the opportunity offered them to get out of the embarraſſing difficulties in which their indiſcretion had involved them. But they were too obſtinate, or had gone too far to recede.

Chap. 20. The firſt ſederunt was held in a narrow chamber, where people were ſo ſqueezed that it was difficult to ſtay in the court: Five or ſix merchants with difficulty preſſed out, and went into the college porter's to refreſh themſelves with a draught of ſomething or other. They had heard the libel, and thought all the ſeveral articles to be totally frivolous, and irrelevant to infer any the leaſt cenſure. One of theſe gentlemen expreſſed himſelf with reſpect to the laſt article nearly in the following terms: "When the young man," he ſaid, "had occaſion to mention the ſciences of logic and metaphyſics, he hath, in my opinion, been exceſſively modeſt; he only called the ſchools where theſe ſciences are retailed drowſy ſhops, but he ought to have ſaid a great deal more; for it is evident, that metaphyſical ſpeculations have a bad effect upon the underſtanding: If my ſon who is now entering on buſineſs, ſhall dip into metaphyſics, he will be a bad merchant, and, which is worſe, he will turn out to be a bad man. Theſe ſpeculations, alas! vitiate the heart, and benumb its moral feelings. Every profound inveſtigation operates in that manner. Theſe deep theories leave all the paſſions of men in their full force. Whilſt ſpeculations are playing in the metaphyſician's head, his heart lies open to every impulſe of appetite, whether it be avarice, licentiouſneſs, or cruelty, or whatever vice he is prone to by the natural bent of his temper. Avarice in particular, as you may learn from this very trial, ſeems to be the characteriſtic of theſe ſpeculative gentlemen: Their humane affections, if ever they had any, are altogether chilled; they are poſſeſſed of a callouſneſs

of heart, and are able to see the distresses of the miserable with an undisturbed tranquillity. Consider how they act in life, how they are acting just now, and you need no other proof of the ancient remark, that super-celestial-opinions, and subterraneous practices, are commonly found to be of singular accord. Did you ever know a skilful metaphysician, or acute theorist, who was exempt from covetousness, nay, who was not more covetous than ordinary? They put me in mind of ravenous birds which soar high in the clouds, but are observed to keep their eye downward, fixed directly on their prey. Unhappy was the state of this country, in some former periods, when almost every man was a metaphysician; and of such a wild and wretched scene we may easily form some notion, from the avarice, the faction, the brawling, and contention, that prevail in this very college. Shall I ever see the happy day, when these speculative sophists shall be held in a still more universal contempt than at present! shall be avoided as ravenous wolves, or totally hunted out of the country!"

Chap. 21. By this time the gentleman was almost out of breath; but after he had paused a little, and walked three or four times across the room, he took his seat, and proceeded with a still more serious and solemn air than before: Gentlemen, he said, it runs strongly in my head, that this persecuted student must be a real believer of the gospel; and I wish he be not persecuted on that very account. His dislike of metaphysics is to me a proof that he is a serious and firm believer; young as he is, he hath discovered the dangerous tendency of metaphysical science, and is I fear, for that reason, unwelcome at this college. Metaphysics, you may depend, is always accompanied with some degree of scepticism or infidelity. Your metaphysical gentlemen deal in thin and subtile arguments, till they reason themselves out of all religion, and doubt of that which of all things is

the leaſt doubtful. There hath been in this city a great and viſible decline of religion, and ſome allege that this is owing to our increaſing opulence; but there are other places as opulent where a reverence for religion is retained. Irreligion hardly ever gains ground, except when it is ſupported by wild ſpeculative tenets, or dry metaphyſical theories; theories, which, in our times, have been employed to undermine natural and revealed religion, and to introduce materialiſm.—To be convinced, gentlemen, that this metaphyſical ſophiſtry, and not the increaſe of wealth, is the cauſe why religion is diſregarded, you need only conſider the ſtate of religion where this ſophiſtry flouriſhes moſt, and that is within the precincts of the college. Can any man ſay, that the learned gentlemen are more juſt and generous, more meek and humble, than the opulent merchants of the city? Was it owing to opulence that public prayers were diſuſed in the college? Was it owing to opulence, that many years ago, all the maſters diſcontinued the religious inſtructions which uſed to be given on Sunday evenings? Is it owing to opulence, that profeſſors, who have formerly been miniſters, take it as an affront to be deſired to ſay prayers in a private family in the country, or in a charitable corporation in the city? And if any licentious principles have been imbibed by the ſtudents, is not this owing not to opulence, but to the ſloth of the maſters, to their metaphyſical inquiries, and recommending dangerous books to the youth, or not cautioning them againſt them? Believe me, that neither opulence, nor pride, nor that indolence which is ſomehow natural to men of learning, is ſufficient to account for all this. It is that metaphyſical and fatal ſcepticiſm, whiſpered and communicated from one profeſſor to another, and from them derived to the unhappy ſtudents, which is the cauſe of all that irreligion and infidelity we complain of. The ſtudent againſt whom

we have heard ſo pitiful an indictment read, did therefore right in ſo far. With great propriety, he pronounced logics and metaphyſics to be drowſy ſciences; but he ſhould alſo have ſhown the danger of them; for every honeſt man, every well-wiſher of religion, ſhould ſtrive, if poſſible, to bring ſuch pernicious ſciences into abſolute diſgrace; or, if that cannot yet be done, to prevent the ſpreading of that ſpurious and diſputatious learning, which miſleads the underſtanding, corrupts the heart, ſubverts religion, introduces ſcepticiſm and gloomy infidelity, and mars the great intereſts and comforts of mankind. Theſe ſciences never taught any man to ſpeak or think juſtly. You ſhall hear a logician, in ſpeaking of a criminal proceſs, abſurdly diſtinguiſh between a trial and a proſecution; and one who knows the geometry of viſibles, viſibly deficient in common ſenſe.

Chap. 22. This gentleman was liſtened to with ſilent attention; and it appeared that the reſt of the company, who were all citizens of Clutha, nearly agreed with him in the ſentiments he had delivered. I'll lay my life, ſaid one of them, that the diſparaging expreſſions about logic and metaphyſics are at the bottom of this proceſs, and have raiſed the dudgeon of theſe metaphyſicians fifty times more than the two expreſſions pretended to be diſreſpectful of religion: But why at this time of day ſuch a ſputter about theſe obſolete and unintelligible ſciences? In times of ignorance they might poſſibly be eſteemed; but the man who would now recommend them to the public eſteem, comes by far too late; for, except in the cells of monks, or colleges of pedants, they bear no value, and are never ſo much as ſpoken of. The art of reaſoning is a gift of nature, and the rules of logic are of uſe to none but thoſe who can reaſon well enough without them; and many ſpecimens of juſt reaſoning were given before logic was reduced to principles.

Metaphyſics I ever believed to be uſeleſs; and I am alarmed at the pernicious conſequences of that ſcience which you have now mentioned: For my part, when I conſider all this, I think it lucky that the ſtudent expreſſed himſelf as he did. His ſpeech may very probably ſtir up this opulent city immediately to ſet on foot ſuch an academy as was propoſed a few years ago; by which means a ſtop will be put to ſcepticiſm and infidelity; taſte will be improved; practical morality and true religion, in their natural ſimplicity and beauty, taught and recommended to our youth; and then we may leave the profeſſors in the ſecure and unenvied poſſeſſion of their logic, their ontological ſyſtems, and metaphyſical ſpeculations.

Chap. 23. The reader will perhaps imagine, that I have made an improper digreſſion, and almoſt loſt ſight of the trial, the hiſtory of which I had propoſed to write. But, in order to give as juſt an idea of it as poſſible, I judged it material to ſet down, as I have done, with great faithfulneſs, ſome of the ſentiments of people without doors: And I now reſume the thread of my ſtory. As the faculty-room could contain but a few people, the court, at the pannel's deſire, adjourned to a large hall, where his friends might have room to be preſent and countenance him. At the ſecond ſederunt, ſix rounds of ſpeeches were delivered from the bench, which I intend not to inſert in this hiſtory. Theſe ſpeeches of the judges, together with thoſe delivered by them afterwards in the courſe of this trial, being all faithfully preſerved, will, we hear, be offered to the public in a volume by themſelves: Only I cannot but relate here, that one of the judges, in arguing for the competency of the court, expreſſed himſelf thus: I knew a gentleman of twenty, who, at one of the Engliſh colleges, was flogged and ſcourged till his ſkin was torn; and another, who, within ſix weeks of his being a member of the Houſe of Commons, was ſtripped naked, and laſhed in the

college, till the blood ran plentifully from his breech to the ground. And, upon the relevancy of the indictment, I have, said he, seen the place where Calas was butchered; and have stood with pleasure upon the spot of ground where St. Dominic set up the inquisition. Another of these judges, speaking of the same relevancy, maintained, "that when two objects or ideas, the one contemptible and the other respectable, were set up together to view, the contemptible one conveyed some degree of its contemptibleness to the respectable one." He is wrong, said a Jockey; for when I want to set off a good horse, I set him up by the sorriest jade I can find. He is an ignorant blunderer, said a gentleman, for my wife always chooses a waiting-woman more homely than herself.

Chap. 24. The competency of the court and relevancy of the libel, were opposed strenuously by two of the judges, and somewhat faintly by two more; but sustained by a great majority of the court: And then began the examination of the witnesses, of whom a great number were adduced. It should be remarked here, I believe, that the court had no compulsatory to oblige the witnesses to attend: However, all who were cited came, some from religious zeal, some to oblige the prosecutors, and others to support the pannel. In this examination Comalo appeared to great advantage, and so far as was possible in such an affair, acquired much honour, and gained the esteem of every person present; for if ever a lawyer had the art and ability of examining witnesses, and making the most of their evidence in behalf of his client, he was undoubtedly the man: From the very looks of men, he seemed to penetrate into their hearts, and knew, either from some previous information, or by the first question put, whether the witness was prejudised against his client or not: And though perhaps there was no design in any of the witnesses to prevaricate, yet, by cross questions, he made the depositions of

thoſe who were moſt againſt his client to bear the marks of confuſion, and, as ſome thought, even of contradiction. Supported by ſuch counſel, and no criminal action or opinion charged againſt him, the pannel had no reaſon to fear the iſſue of the trial.

Chap. 25. Among the firſt who offered themſelves to be witneſſes, were four of the judges; and as the counſel for the pannel objected againſt their being adduced, this point was gravely, and at great length, diſcuſſed by the court. Two or three maintained, that no judge ought to be examined as a witneſs, and that ſuch a ſtep was altogether illegal; but thoſe who were eager to be examined far out-voted the other party, and ſuſtained themſelves as witneſſes. This was thought ſtrange at that time, and appeared to be more ſo a little afterwards: For the ſame profeſſors had firſt taken a precognition, and then, as it ſtands expreſsly marked in their minutes, had found ground for a libel, and appointed the proceſs to be commenced and carried on long before they had put the precognition into the procurator-fiſcal's hand, and even before they had ſo much as choſen a procurator-fiſcal; nay, four or five of them deponed, that they had adviſed and directed the proceſs, and ſome of them, that they had framed and corrected the libel. So that, beſides the pains they had taken in raiſing the *fama clamoſa*, they were, in fact, the proſecutors, the witneſſes, and the judges, in this criminal proceſs. The liberty of the ſubjects of Oceana muſt, at that time, have ſtood on a very precarious foundation, if the ſecular judges did not act more legally than theſe reverend and inquiſitorial theologians. However, the evidence of thoſe profeſſors was taken under a proteſtation by the counſel for the pannel.

Chap. 26. Before the proof was finiſhed, in taking of which three or four days were ſpent, Comalo was obliged to repair to one of the capital cities of Oceana, and Fuorgo ſucceeded in his place as counſel for

the ſtudent. This gentleman was at that time very young; and, for any thing I can learn, this was his firſt appearance as a lawyer in any court of judicature. He was of an intrepid ſpirit, ſpoke with eaſe, and was heartily concerned for the intereſt of his client. He had engaged in his cauſe from compaſſion, from a fixed abhorrence of perſecution, and perhaps ſome reſentment of the bad treatment he had met with ſome time before at the college of Clutha, from the ſame profeſſors who had commenced and were carrying on this proſecution. In a ſpirited manner, he attended the examination of ſeveral of the witneſſes; and when the proſecutor's proof was concluded, he entered a proteſt againſt four of the profeſſors being judges in the cauſe; theſe were the four who had deponed, as I have related above, that they had adviſed, directed, and appointed the carrying on of the proſecution, and framed and corrected the libel. This demand ſeemed to be founded in law, and every perſon preſent was convinced that it was equitable; but the profeſſors were no ways moved from their purpoſe by it. On the contrary, inſtead of declining to be judges in the matter, as both law and equity ſeemed to require, they were the only judges who, in the ſequel, found the libel proved, judged the ſtudent cenſurable, and pronounced ſentence againſt him.

Chap. 27. After the above proteſt, four or five witneſſes were examined for the pannel: By them it was fully proved, that both in the parliament of Oceana, and in the general ſociety, the greateſt liberty of debate had always been allowed and practiſed; and that the members of parliament and ſtudents had ever been in uſe to reaſon, with the utmoſt freedom, upon the moſt important points of religion; that in theſe aſſemblies, the being of God, his providence, the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate, had often been propoſed as ſubjects of diſpute; and that the

ſtudents had, for argument's ſake, and without being thought liable to any cenſure, embraced either ſide of theſe ſeveral queſtions, and endeavoured to ſupport the ſide they were to maintain with whatever arguments they pleaſed. And I can with great truth affirm, that the witneſſes who appeared the moſt favourable to the pannel, as they ſeemed to have the cleareſt ideas of the points in queſtion, ſo they were certainly in rank and ſtation rather ſuperior to thoſe who were leſs favourable to him; they were either of the ſuperior and moſt enlightened part of the ſtudents, or advocates, or young gentlemen of family and eſtate in the neighbourhood of Clutha, together with two of the judges themſelves. By five or ſix witneſſes, who had been, at the time libelled, in the parliament of Oceana, and had heard the ſtudent's ſpeech, it was clearly proved, that no impious or offenſive expreſſion, as they judged, was uttered by him. By twelve witneſſes all concurring, it was as clearly proved, that the expreſſions about faith and repentance, and about the inhabitants of Clutha, did not ſeem offenſive when delivered; and that in neither of theſe numerous aſſemblies was the ſtudent interrupted or called to order, though in one of them there were preſent ſeven of the profeſſors, and in both of them a number of the moſt reſpectable citizens of Clutha: And beſides it was clearly proved, as I hinted before, that till the profeſſors began to take the precognition, there was no *fama clamoſa* in the city, nor any complaint or diſguſt againſt the ſtudent for the expreſſions he was now proſecuted for; but that, on the contrary, the citizens were highly pleaſed with the ſpeech, formed a favourable opinion of the ſtudent, as being a lad of parts and genius, and began to think more favourably of the college than they had done for many years before.

Chap. 28. On the ſame day in which the proof was concluded on the ſide of the proſecutor, and alſo

of the pannel, the lord rector arrived at Clutha. It was immediately reported in every ſtreet, that he was highly diſpleaſed with the proſecution, and that he judged it to be irrelevant and groundleſs; that he believed there was not ſo pitiful a kirk-ſeſſion in all Oceana, which would have commenced a proceſs upon ſuch poor and flimſy foundations. This report was verified by the illuſtrious appearance and ſpeech which his lordſhip afterwards made in court: But as that noble lord employed his good offices for a day or two in private with the profeſſors, to convince them of their temerity and danger, and, if poſſible, bring the matter in queſtion to ſome amicable iſſue, I will here, for the inſtruction and amuſement of my readers, faithfully relate ſome account of a motion that was made by ſome grave and religious citizens during the adjournment of the court.

Chap. 29. Next day, after the rector's arrival, the inhabitants of Clutha reſorted in great numbers to the college-hall, expecting at laſt a deciſion of this affair, which had already laſted ſix or ſeven days; but, inſtead of proceeding, the court only met, and adjourned till the day following at ten o'clock. All that was done was a proteſt taken againſt the dean of faculty's being a judge, as the rector had never called him to be one of his aſſeſſors. There being, therefore, ſome reſpite from attending the court, eight or ten of the citizens met at a tavern in the afternoon, and one of them, with great earneſtneſs, made the following motion: Gentlemen, he ſaid, we are every day complaining of the decline of religion, and a growing corruption of manners in this place; and, if principle hath any influence on practice, it is no wonder that vice increaſes here. Revealed religion hath been attacked and abuſed by many audacious writers, whoſe books are by the profeſſors put into the hands of our children; the modern theories of morality are either diſjoined from natural religion, or ſeem to ſuppoſe that

there is no such thing; and if there were any thing good in these theories, yet they are so inconsistent with one another, and one of them is so quickly justled out by another, that thereby the obligation to the practice of virtue is miserably relaxed. I am really terrified at what I have heard in yon court. The sacred principles of religion, and the very being of a God, are proposed and argued upon as dubious points; and this practice, impious as it is, is adduced by sensible people as a defence for this prosecuted student. All is certainly wrong in this vile college, and, for aught I see, is still growing worse and worse. And I propose, as a remedy, that we in the city shall immediately stir up, and join with the noblemen and gentlemen in this and the neighbouring counties, and instantly apply for a royal visitation. This will cost the government little or no expence; and, as it concerns the religion and morals of this city, and the whole country about, will certainly be easily obtained: By this means, the plan of teaching may be greatly altered, and the useless and dangerous sciences of logic and metaphysics totally exterminated; by this means, five or six of these professors, who are it seems very stupid and unqualified for their respective departments, may be turned out, and sent about their business. It is well, that all or most of them have taken sufficient care to get money; but, though they had not a groat among them, it is not just that their interest should stand in competition with the valuable interests of a whole city and country: They may take up private reading schools, become precentors, teach arithmetic, or follow the business of shop-keeping.—But if a royal visitation is not like to be soon obtained, there is another remedy, though not so effectual: I mean, that our general session should take the matter in hand, should draw up a memorial and petition for a presbyterial visitation of the college. Presbyteries have a right, by the laws of church and state, to

visit all schools and seminaries within their bounds; and, if the presbytery please, they may desire the synod to join in the visitation with them. Do you not see, Gentlemen, that by this visitation some considerable good might in the mean time be brought about? The presbytery might call the several teaching professors, man by man, before them, and examine them strictly about their principles, their knowledge, and their diligence. And perhaps, upon a strict examination, it will be found, that the scepticism and immorality, complained of in the students, is really owing to the wretched principles, the ignorance, and carelessness of the professors; for I cannot think that the youth are naturally worse now than they were in former times, till they become debauched in their principles and morals at this degenerate college. A visitation, Gentlemen! A visitation of one sort or other! By all manner of means a visitation! If we can get a royal one, it is well; but why should we not, in the mean time, with all our credit and influence, push forward the other? for, Gentlemen, the virtue and happiness of our children are at stake. I fear, I fear, there are bad principles instilled! And from what I have heard about the occult causes of this process, I fear there are bad examples set by these sorry teachers: And if the patrons of benevolence are selfish and rapacious, and, of sympathy, hard-hearted and cruel; if the preachers of charity are actuated by revenge; if they who extol justice are covetous and unjust; and they who found all morality on common sense are observed to be senseless, rude, and grossly ill-bred; the scholars must either abhor their masters, as loathsome hypocrites, or else lose all sense of virtue, and sink into the basest avarice, injustice, and cruelty.

Chap. 30. The gentleman delivered his sentiments with an air and manner which commanded the attention of every person present. And though I cannot

pretend to vindicate every expreſſion he uſed, the company, however, ſeemed in general to be pleaſed with his ſpeech, and convinced of the neceſſity and propriety of the motion he made: And there was one of our company, who himſelf had got a liberal education, who immediately returned him the following anſwer: Sir, I ſuppoſe you are the more earneſt to have the college purged and reformed, as you have two ſons whom probably you will ſend to it ſoon: For my part, I ſee nothing unfeaſible in either of the remedies you have propoſed; a royal viſitation may be eaſily procured, and I allow it is very much wanted; and the preſbyterial viſitation may be got without delay. But I cannot but tell you that we of this city may look upon ourſelves as very juſtly puniſhed: Many here had not ſenſe to eſteem the talents and virtue of Honorio, who was my maſter, and who, by the ſuperiority of his character, would have been an ornament to any college. You cannot but remember how your uncle and my father often blamed me for admiring and imbibing his ſentiments; but whom have you got ſince that was fit to fill his place? I ſay nothing to diſparage any man's abilities: But, alas! what a downfal at preſent!—The morals of our people are growing more and more corrupted; and it is grievous to obſerve, that leſs pains is taken to eſtabliſh and inculcate religion in proportion as ſcepticiſm and vice are gaining ground. While Honorio was in this college, we had every Sunday evening the pleaſure of hearing a lecture from him, wherein a great deal of curious and beautiful learning was retailed; the truth of divine revelation was demonſtrated; and religion was ſet forth in a ſtriking and amiable point of view. At ſo great a diſtance of time, I think of this with the higheſt regard to the memory of that truly honeſt, benevolent, and reſpectable gentleman. I can hardly yet paſs the college gate without imagining I ſee him, and feeling a flow of affection to his charac-

ter; for I do from the heart declare, that if ever I saw the value of true knowledge, if ever I beheld the beauty, and felt the constraining power of religion and virtue, it was while, on these momentous subjects, I was hearing the spirited and penetrating discourses of that excellent teacher: I really never heard him without wishing to be possessed of some virtue which he made me sensible I wanted; and if wishing to be virtuous be some degree of virtue, I always came out of his school better than I went into it. But if I hear the lectures or read the books of succeeding professors with all the care I can, my heart is never affected by them: I feel no sort of emotion, nor any desire of virtue, nor even of knowledge. Most certainly our present teaching professors are a very different sort of men. When I hear their dry and confused speeches from the bench, in this trial, I see but too well that they must speak in a languid, drowsy, and confused manner in their classes, and be able to convey but a very pitiful degree of knowledge to their poor unhappy students.

Chap. 31. I have in this history proposed to give my readers as clear an idea as I can, not only of the college, but partly also of the city of Clutha. It is with that design that in my two last chapters I have set down the real speeches of two sensible Cluthanians, and from these it will be easily perceived in what a contemptible state of ignorance, error, and corruption, the college was at this particular period. It will be remarked, that the gentlemen of Clutha spoke of the professors nearly in the same style for which the student was prosecuted. And, in fact, it appears from authentic memoirs and informations, that several of the professors taught in a manner so dry and unentertaining, that no epithet so proper and characteristic as that of *drowsy* could be applied to them. They read over their philological, their dialectical, their ontological, and their pneumatological lectures,

in such a tardy, lethargic, and drowsy manner, that they very much resembled those old nurses who have the art of lulling children asleep. In hearing them, it was really impossible for the students to keep themselves awake. The soporific dose was for the space of an hour so copiously administered to them, that some of them yawned, some slumbered, others nodded, and many fell fast asleep; and it is in history, that sometimes the master himself was seen to nod in his desk, and the spectacles to fall from his nose. This state of the college was so well known in the city, that when any person complained he could not get sleep, the common advice given him was, that he should go and hear a lecture in the college. However, the students were generally so fortunate as to awake by the time the lecture was ended; though this was not the case with a very serious and diligent lad, a month or two before the trial: He fell into so deep a sleep, that the great din made by his fellow-students, when they were gladly running out of the class, was not heard by him; and it cost the professor some considerable time, in pinching his nose and jogging his sides, before he could get him to awake. It was the general belief at Clutha, that the prosecuted student had been alluding to this fact, when he spoke of the "drowsy shops of logic and metaphysics;" and, if I am not mistaken, the citizen also alludes to it in his speech which I have narrated above. But I must now attend the lord rector.

Chap. 32. On the day that had been appointed, the rector repaired to the college, and joined the professors in the faculty-room. The professors were rigged out in their canonical habits, and with the rector at their head, they, with measured steps, and demure aspect, made a solemn procession to the large hall where the court was to sit! A few servants also in black gowns, with flat cowls on their heads, stepped leisurely before them, one of

them carrying a mace over his ſhoulder, which they called the ſceptre wand: Having in this ſolemn manner traverſed the college court, and reached the hall, the rector took his ſeat, and after a ſhort ſilence ſpoke to this purpoſe: "It was with great concern that I heard of this affair. I have now been ſome time in town, and might, if I had pleaſed, been preſent at ſome part of the trial; but I did not chooſe to countenance a trial, for which there appears to me to have been no ground, and in which ſo many irregular ſteps have been purſued. I am a friend to civil liberty, and I hope to religion alſo; and I diſlike perſecution of every kind. I believe you the profeſſors had no bad intentions in this matter; but then moſt of you know little of law, and I am unacquainted with it, for I never ſtudied it. I think, that by this proſecution you have brought diſgrace upon yourſelves, and upon your univerſity. You have conſtituted yourſelves into a criminal court: Upon what authority have you done this? If it be by the bulls of ancient popes, theſe were abrogated by the reformation; and if after that era any criminal juriſdiction remained to you, it hath been taken away by the juriſdiction act. I think, indeed, that like every other college, you have right to exerciſe diſcipline over your ſtudents, with reſpect to ſmaller miſdemeanors, and to cenſure them by admonition, rebuke, or even expulſion; but if any ſtudent commit any great crime, he, like other ſubjects, is to be tried in the courts authoriſed and eſtabliſhed by law. By the form of this trial, you ſeem to be aiming at ſome ſevere puniſhment; and yet it is only words or expreſſions you have libelled, which, in my judgment, are not actionable or cognoſceable in any court of law, nor merit any ſort of cenſure. I fear this proſecution, contrary to your intention, will appear to be eccleſiaſtical tyranny. I know not what to do in this matter: I had before me laſt year the caſe of a

foreign ſtudent, who had inſulted one of you by throwing off his periwig, and that affair was happily ended when I ſat in a court of this kind; and now you are proceeding in this other trial. Had I foreſeen there would be ſo much buſineſs for me, I would have named other ſort of aſſeſſors than you; for except one gentleman, I believe none of you pretend to know law; I would have named, indeed, men of liberal education, and of liberal ideas alſo; I would have named the lords of juſticiary, and the ſheriff depute of the county. I know not what to do in this matter. Were I to do any thing, it would be to throw the libel over the bar, and aſſoilzie the ſtudent immediately; but even that would be to acknowledge the legality and competency of the court: As I cannot do ſo, and as I cannot countenance your proceeding in this trial, I will enter a proteſt, and immediately leave the court."

Chap. 33. The lord rector ſpoke at great length, and delivered many noble ſentiments on liberty, and againſt civil and eccleſiaſtical tyranny, which I am ſorry I have not room to relate at large. There were preſent two profeſſors, who, from the beginning of the affair, had been uniformly of the ſame opinion now expreſſed by his lordſhip; both with reſpect to the relevancy and the competency of the court; and it was viſible to every ſpectator, how the countenances of theſe two gentlemen brightened up, whilſt the rector was ſpeaking; but the majority were in a confounded pickle: One of them gnawed at his tobacco, and his face turned quite livid; another's face was downcaſt, and as red as blood; the eyes of one ſunk into his head, his cheeks clang inwards, and his complexion was black as if he had been in a ſwoon; another rapped upon the lid of his ſnuff-box, and in taking ſnuff, beat ſo violently with his finger and thumb upon his noſe, that it fell a-bleeding; and one of them was ſo dreadfully ſcared and terrified, that

he was carried home to his bed and never returned to see the issue of the trial. The rector, as he had threatened, entered his protest, and promised to give in his reasons in proper time; and the principal mufti or faquir of the college, protested for liberty to answer the rector's reasons, when they should appear.

Chap. 34. Abashed as the judges were, they were unwilling and ashamed to desist. Fain would they have got out of the perplexing embarrassment in which they were: Often did they wish they had never set on foot such a shameful and groundless prosecution: And it is believed in Clutha, that they blamed and upbraided one another for that violent spirit, and ungoverned rage, which in truth had actuated them all, though perhaps they were not all equally blameable; but it is certain that all that party believed they had now gone too far to think of stopping: However, though they had constituted themselves into a criminal court, though they had chosen a procurator-fiscal, though they had hitherto called, and allowed themselves to be called, a criminal court, and always called the student by the appellation of pannel; yet now, intimidated, as was supposed, by the rector, they began to alter their style, and to call the student the defender: And a very merry inquiry was set on foot on the bench, to find out and determine what kind of court they were: On this point, several entertaining speeches were delivered by the judges, which, as I have oftener than once declared before, it is not my purpose to insert, I cannot, however, but take notice of a few sentences in one of these speeches. "We are called an inquisitorial court," said the learned gentleman, "but I despise words; words do not alter the nature of things; there is nothing in words; I may call my cow my daughter, and my daughter my cow: But we are not a court of inquisition. We are called a criminal court, but we have only assumed the forms of a criminal court: Neither are we a

civil court, nor yet an eccleſiaſtical court: But I will tell you what court we are; we are an academical court, that is, a court for puniſhing crimes in our ſtudents, and diſciplining them: Our court partakes of the nature of all courts; only a criminal court admits of ſeveral things called clemencies, but we of this academical court are not obliged, and it is not in our nature, to ſhow any clemency.". This gentleman's ſpeech ſeemed quibbling and unintelligible, and left very bad impreſſions of him on the minds of the audience. He ſeemed to deal much in frivolous diſtinctions, to have the feelings of his heart ſtupified by the poiſon of wrong ſcience, and to wrap up himſelf in the cobwebs of metaphyſics and ſcholaſtic jargon.

Chap. 35. I have before narrated how the judges began to alter their ſtyle about their court; and now, by degrees, they began to talk gently about the ſtudent. They publicly took notice of his parts and genius, his aſſiduity at ſtudy, and his readineſs to liſten to their directions and advices; and inſtead of pannel, they now called him the defender. Their civility to him went farther than mere words; for, of their own accord, they brought him a precept on their factor for his burſary, which they had often refuſed him before: They were determined, however, to proceed in the trial, though it is probable that by this time, they ſaw they muſt be ſatisfied with a gentler cenſure than at firſt they had intended. The counſel for the defender (for I ſhall henceforth, like the court, call him by that name) aſked the ſpace of one day to ſee and conſider the proof, and this demand was agreed to. It was his opinion, that though the whole libel, even as laid, had been proved, it could not have inferred the ſlighteſt puniſhment or cenſure, in the judgment of any unprejudiſed perſon, nor even in the judgment of the proſecutors themſelves, if they had not been blindfolded by malevo-

lent paſſion, by which the exerciſe of their underſtandings was at that time woefully damaged and impaired. The depoſitions of the witneſſes I will not inſert in this hiſtory, both as the matters deponed on were ſo frivolous, that I fear it was a profanation to cauſe any man make oath about them, and alſo becauſe I have been informed that the whole proceſs, with every depoſition verbatim, is to be publiſhed to the world. However, the proof, as I have ſaid before, turned out extremely favourable for the defender. The indictment, as the reader will have obſerved, conſiſted of five articles: In the 1ſt, the ſtudent was charged with talking irreverently or impiouſly concerning our Saviour; in the 2d, contemptuouſly of the capital doctrines of the goſpel; in the 3d, abuſively of the merchants; and in the 4th, of the ladies of Clutha; and in the 5th, that he talked contemptuouſly and diſreſpectfully of the ſciences of logic and metaphyſics, by calling them drowſy.—When the counſel had ſeen the proof, he came next day and pleaded the cauſe with great ſpirit and vivacity. He told the court, "They had brought themſelves into a dangerous ſcrape; that none of the expreſſions libelled were cenſurable by any law whatever; that this was ſo evident, that he and all the world were convinced, that ſome other *occult cauſes* muſt have been the ground of this inquiſitorial proſecution; that by a hardy phalanx on the bench, his client had been pointed out as odious, in order to draw upon him the rage of every ſort of fanatics; that he had been ſtabbed with the dagger of perſecution, borne down by the hand of oppreſſion, and blaſted by the tongue of calumny: That therefore it became the court not only to aſſoilzie him, but to take the moſt effectual method to inform the public that he had been injuriouſly treated, and had never been guilty of any of thoſe things, which, by means of this trial, people might ſuſpect; that if they would

not do him juſtice, there were other courts, before which their ſentence might come, where ſuch paſſions as prevailed here had not reached." The counſel having pleaded the cauſe, it was expected the judges would immediately proceed to conſider the proof, and paſs ſentence. But contrary to expectation, and to the ordinary forms of criminal courts, they ſaid, they would firſt, as the counſel for the defender had done, take one day to conſider the proof: This, it was ſuſpected, was done with the deſign, that what impreſſions were made by the counſel might be worn off; and perhaps it was alſo that they might have time to agree upon the ſentence they were to paſs. While, therefore, the judges are ſhut up conſidering the amount of the proof, the moſt ſanguine part of which conſiſted of their own depoſitions, I will, as in a former interval of court, ſtrive to entertain the reader with an account of ſome of the profeſſors of Clutha at that time. As it did not ſuit with the plan of this hiſtory to inſert their ſpeeches, it may be judged the more neceſſary to give ſome character of themſelves, ſince they are the principal perſonages in this academical drama; and, happily, the account I am to give of them, is literally tranſlated from ancient and authentic memoirs concerning them.

Chap. 36. I find it would ſwell this work to too great a ſize, and hinder me from gratifying the impatience of the public, ſhould I here inſert the character of every profeſſor of the ancient Clutha: But, without any conſiderable loſs to the reader, I may ſafely abridge this part of my work; for, at that particular time, the teaching profeſſors of Clutha, though they differed in many reſpects, yet, in many reſpects, they very exactly reſembled one another; their temper of mind, their air and manner, their taſte and genius, were much alike; in the love of money, and ſome other plebeian paſſions, they were perfectly ſi-

milar: And if the reader will but make allowance for the different departments which they filled, he will be enabled to form a pretty exact judgment of them all, from the ſingle character which I have faithfully tranſcribed and ſet before him.

A philologus, or commentator, is one who is regarded merely for his ſkill in the dead languages. In early years, he diſcovers what buſineſs he is born to purſue. With a ſatchel of books on his back, he goes regularly to the pariſh ſchool, and keeps time ſo exactly, that he ſerves the neighbours inſtead of a clock. The bell-man ſees him paſs by, and ſays to his wife, that lad is diligent; he will certainly be a deep ſcholar. At the fire-ſide he repeats his Latin; his mother hears him; looks at him with wonder; and fears he will not be long-lived. Though dull and ſlow of apprehenſion, he labours to ſupply that defect by a grave and tedious application. In the ſchool, he is never caught looking off his book; and he has the whole grammar perfectly by heart. He reads Ovid, Salluſt, and Corderius, all with the ſame tone and cadence; and never omits to conjugate and decline every verb and noun that comes in his way. When he comes to the college, he ſtares at the maſters with the moſt profound admiration; conſiders each of them as a walking library, crammed to the throat with Greek, and Latin, and philoſophy, and wiſhes he may ſome time be one of them. He is continually poring over books in his chamber; preys with an undiſtinguiſhing voracity on every thing that is ancient; but Greek eſpecially, dark Greek, in the diſmal editions of Froben or Aldus, is his ſupreme delight. He reads through the Greek Teſtament all in a day, and boaſts of it as a notable exploit in learning. When he enters a bookſeller's ſhop, he looks with contempt on the modern books that glitter on the upper ſhelves; he caſts his eyes toward the lower regions, where ſtand the heavy folios, the ponderous lumber of an-

cient erudition. He rummages the dark corners of the ſhop, and drags from their duſty retreat, Gruterus, Hoffomannus, Becmannus, and Lindenbrogius, and a whole legion of obſcure commentators. By this conduct, he in time becomes diſtinguiſhed as a great ſcholar, and is thought fit to be a profeſſor in the college of Clutha. Then he aſſumes a dogmatical air, finds fault with Bentley's edition of Horace, and ventures to decide in certain points diſputed among the commentators. He values himſelf for his illuſtrations of ſome paſſages in the epodes of Horace, which none but himſelf would chooſe to read to the youth. He computes the time in which Virgil wrote the Æneid, and finds, by a nice calculation, that he compoſed a line and a quarter, or about ſeven words and a half, *per diem*. He reads the moſt ſtriking parts of the beſt writers without the leaſt emotion. No paſſage in Virgil can excite his pity; none in Terence, Plautus, or Horace, can extort a ſmile from him. He declares that he is charmed with Cicero's Orations, and recommends them to his ſcholars, for the knowledge of the Roman antiquities that is to be drawn from them. He hears people talk of taſte, and he talks of it too; but which of our modern dramatiſts, ſays he, can be compared with Lycophron? or whoever compoſed three thouſand comedies as Menander did? He reads over all the ancient commentators on Plato and Ariſtotle for his amuſement, and calls them the grand magazine of human knowledge. If he turns preacher, he diſdains to read out his text in the uſual way; he bids his audience look for the motto of his diſſertation in the penult verſe of the antepenult ſection of the apocalypſe. He joins together the moſt jarring and diſcordant ideas; and his ſtyle is mere fuſtian and bombaſt. He figures himſelf ſtanding on the verge of immenſity; and talks about the friendſhip and diſintereſted benevolence of the Logos, and the energetical and plaſtic influence of the Pneuma.

In hiſtory, he confines his reading to the Byzantine hiſtorians, and declares them infinitely ſuperior to Tacitus and Livy. He talks about numbers of Greek and Latin authors as well known to him, whom nobody ever heard of. In ſhort, all his reading lies in ſuch books as nobody elſe reads; and, for ſome cauſe or other, he never gives his opinion concerning any modern book. He conceals his want of diſcernment, by an affected contempt of every thing written ſince the days of Procopius, except ſome things of Vida and Fracaſtor. In common life, he is a ſtranger to all the forms of buſineſs. All his ideas are extravagant and wide of truth and nature. He affects to talk of agriculture, and pronounces Virgil's Georgics to be the only complete treatiſe upon the ſubject, and pities our ploughmen that they cannot read it in Latin. In laying out a farm, he ſagely propoſes fifty acres to be ſown with onions, and forty for cabbage plants. To make five thouſand pounds a-year by a dairy, he will tell you, is the eaſieſt matter in the world; he talks of it with a careleſs certainty; for—he ſaw it in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. His converſation is dry and inſipid; and turns upon a few anecdotes about Bentley, and Burman, and Julian the apoſtate, and Jamblichus the Pythagorean. Sequeſtered from the world, and converſing chiefly with muſty authors, he becomes equally callous in his feeling and inſignificant in his perſon. If to ſuch uſeleſs attainments and plumbeity of intellect, a ſour and moroſe temper happens to be united, his character is deteſted as well as deſpiſed; but if he poſſeſſeth a quiet and ſedate diſpoſition, or what Swift calls an aldermanly diſcretion, which is generally the caſe with men of a heavy underſtanding, he paſſeth among his acquaintance as a good enough ſort of man; and, among the illiterate part of mankind, his grave and humdrum aſpect procures him the reputation of a deep ſcholar.

Chap. 37. The judges having now ſeen the proof, came next day to court to judge of its amount. They conſidered the libel, article by article, whether or not it was proved; and though many people believed it was evidently diſproved, even by the witneſſes adduced againſt the defender, yet it was viſible, that the majority were reſolved to decide rather according to their own depoſitions, and thoſe of a very few who ſeemed to agree with them, than by the evidence of a very great number of witneſſes, who deponed, with reſpect to ſeveral circumſtances, very differently from them. The firſt article was culpable by implication only. The ſtudent was accuſed of having meant our bleſſed Saviour, by the expreſſion, "the ſon of Mary." This was ſaid to be, in a literal ſenſe, making a man an offender for a word. Two of the judges ſtrenuouſly contended, that as this was only an implied crime, no court of law could puniſh or cenſure a man for it; and that, though the defender had meant as was alleged, no irreverence or diſreſpect could be intended, ſince it was clearly proved, that, at the time libelled, he was ſpeaking ſeriouſly upon a grave and important ſubject; by the majority, however, this article was found proved. The ſecond article was unanimouſly found not proved. The third and fourth, concerning the merchants and ladies of Clutha, were, like the firſt, blameable only by implication; they were ſuppoſed to refer to a city different from Clutha; and, notwithſtanding very ſtrong objections were made by two of the judges, theſe articles were alſo found to be proved. The laſt article, concerning "the drowſy ſhops of logic and metaphyſics," was unanimouſly found proved. With reſpect to the articles found to be proved, there were two judges, ſo often mentioned above, who delivered pretty long ſpeeches, ſhowing, that, in their judgment, theſe articles were not at all proved. Theſe ſpeeches I would inſert, or at leaſt part of them, had that been

conſiſtent with the plan I have laid down to myſelf. Both of them were manly and liberal, and diſplayed ſuch knowledge in law, and ſuch generous and Chriſtian ſentiments, as did honour to the ſpeakers, and would both inſtruct and entertain my readers. When theſe two gentlemen ſaw, that, in oppoſition to their opinion, four of the articles of the indictment were found to be proved, they proteſted againſt that judgment of court, by which ſtep the four profeſſors * who had been witneſſes, were the only judges left to conſider and determine what ſhould be the cenſure, and to pronounce the ſentence. There was indeed, by this time, another of the profeſſors † who had mounted the bench; but though he ſeemed favourable to the defender, yet, becauſe he had not heard the witneſſes examined, he declined to judge either with reſpect to the proof or the cenſure; another of theſe profeſſors ‡ was all the time of the trial abſent from Clutha; two of them § were in the city, and had been once or twice on the bench at the trial, but did not chooſe to attend till the end of it. And the judge ‖ I mentioned before to have been frightened by the rector's ſpeech, continued to be ſick, and did not return to the court.

Chap. 38. The four profeſſors who had been witneſſes againſt the ſtudent, were, for the cauſes I have mentioned, the only judges who were to determine the cenſure and execute the ſentence. The vice-rector ¶, indeed, who was preſes of the court, was known to be of the ſame ſentiments with them. Expulſion, it was believed, was the puniſhment they deſigned when they began the proſecution; but, from various cauſes, they were by this time ſoftened or intimidated to a very great degree. When the firſt motion was made about this affair at a college meeting, one of the pro-

* P——l L——n, Mr. A——n, Dr. W——n, Dr. R—d.
† P——r T——l. ‡ Dr. W—mſ—n. § Dr. St——n, T——s H——n. ‖ P——r C—w. ¶ M——r M——d.

feſſors proteſted, that as there was no *fama clamoſa* in the city, thoſe who moved for the inquiry ſhould be held as the informers, which had made them ſtop or proceed ſlowly for ſome time.—A great number of the moſt wealthy inhabitants of Clutha had engaged to ſupport the ſtudent to the utmoſt length—Comalo and Fuorgo had appeared in his defence—the rector had, in very ſtrong terms, declared himſelf againſt the proſecution—it was evident, from the air and behaviour of the ſpectators, that they believed the proſecution to be ill founded, ridiculous, and oppreſſive—and, except the depoſitions of the four judges, the proof had come out very ſhort of what they had expected. When, therefore, the preſes put the queſtion, the profeſſor or judge who ſpoke firſt, ſaid, That as it was the firſt offence given by the offender, and as there were many circumſtances proved which alleviated the offenſiveneſs of the expreſſions libelled, it was his opinion, that the defender ſhould be rebuked and admoniſhed; and to this motion the other three judges agreed. Then the preſes dictated the ſentence, which was ſaid to have been agreed upon in private before the court met, and which run in theſe terms, "That the ſtudent ſhould be rebuked for diſreſpectful, petulant, and abuſive expreſſions, and admoniſhed." And the judge who had ſpoken firſt on this point, argued, that it would expreſs his meaning better if the ſentence were worded thus: That the ſtudent be rebuked for expreſſions diſreſpectful to religion, petulant to the inhabitants of Clutha, and abuſive of the learned ſciences. But in this he was overruled, and the form of the ſentence dictated by the preſes was approved.

Chap. 39. Beſides the preſes and the four judges, who were to give deciſion in this trial, there were three more at that time upon the bench; the two *, who, by the proteſt they had entered, had precluded

* P——r M——r, D——r W——t.

themſelves from voting as to the cenſure, and a third, who had been attending ſome aſſembly in Oceana, and had purpoſely, as was ſuſpected, kept himſelf abſent from the greateſt part of the trial: He was, as I have narrated, againſt the proſecution, believing there was not ſufficient ground for it; but though he declined to vote, for the reaſon mentioned above, yet, when the court was conſidering what the cenſure ſhould be, he made a ſhort ſpeech, by which he plainly diſcovered what were his ſentiments about the expreſſions libelled. There was, he ſaid, a preacher in the preſbytery of D———, who was upon his ſecond trials, and had got for his text, "The Captain of our ſalvation was made perfect through ſufferings;" in diſcourſing on which, he ſaid that our Saviour was improved in virtue, by means of his ſufferings: The preſbytery were diſpleaſed, and took the young man to taſk: But when he told them his meaning was, that with reſpect to his human nature only our Saviour was improved in virtue, the preſbytery were ſatisfied with the explication. He added, there was a reverend gentleman who ſaid in a ſermon, that God is not properly a virtuous being: This ſeemed a ſtrange expreſſion; but when the gentleman was ſpoken to about it, or came to explain himſelf, he ſaid, that virtue ſuppoſed ſome ſtruggle, or ſome difficulties which the agent was to overcome; that, in this ſenſe of the word, the Deity could not properly be ſaid to be virtuous: And this explication alſo, though he ſtill doubted about the fitneſs of the expreſſion, went far to give ſatisfaction; for every man, he ſaid, hath a right to explain his own words. Theſe two ſhort ſtories appeared to be extremely appoſite to the point in queſtion, or what was charged in the firſt article; and the ſpectators ſeemed much pleaſed with them; and the laſt ſtory had ſome poignancy in it, becauſe the ſermon it alluded to had been delivered by one of the judges, who was now too warmly incenſed againſt

expreſſions, which, at the worſt, were not more exceptionable than his own.

Chap. 40. The whole burden of the affair now lay upon the four judges and the preſes; and it was evident they could obtain no honour by the ſentence which they were going to pronounce. The ſpectators were viſibly prejudiſed againſt them, and they ſaw plainly that the game they had hoped to catch was eſcaping out of their fangs: It is not therefore to be wondered at that they were diſpleaſed with thoſe who had helped to render their ſituation ſo diſagreeable, and to diſappoint them of their aim. One of them made a ſpeech, reflecting upon the defender's counſel, and informing the crowd, that a year or two before, when he was a ſtudent at the college, he had for his ill behaviour been put in priſon: Another of them, after taking notice of the defender's merit, and that he believed him to have imbibed no bad principles in religion, ſaid ſeveral things which gave offence; he talked much about petulance and ill-breeding; and, as he had ſeveral times done before, put the ſtudent in mind that he enjoyed a burſary. He alleged, that the ſtudent was an *eſprit fort*, and that, by appearing to be ſuch, he had recommended himſelf to the gentlemen of Clutha, who had engaged to ſupport him; for, ſaid he, though a man believe religion, there are many people who like him the better becauſe he doth not ſeem to believe it, nor to be much in earneſt about it. This ſpeech, which was dry, tedious, and ſeemed to have been ſtudied, was all of a piece with the few ſentences of it which I have ſet down. It appeared to every perſon to be invidious, and to ſpring from ill temper, or malevolence, or ſome defect of underſtanding. It occaſioned an uproar upon the bench, and tumult in the court-hall. One of the judges, with great vehemence and emotion, ſaid, The gentleman who ſpoke laſt talks of petulance and ill-breeding; I leave his breeding to his own conſcience,

but I ſpeak of juſtice: His words are more the ground of a proceſs againſt him, than all the expreſſions with which the ſtudent hath been charged: He calls him an *eſprit fort*, that is, in the common uſe of the word, an unbeliever; and he hath pointed out all the gentlemen of this city who have ſupported him, as abandoned and irreligious. The gentleman marked down the expreſſions juſt as they were uttered in court, and ſhowed them to the reſt of the bench: The judge who had ſpoke them tried to ſoften them, and to vindicate himſelf, but was thought to do himſelf harm by his apology. This metaphyſician had, it ſeems, proſecuted viſionary ſpeculations with ſo much avidity, that he ſeemed to have loſt all delicacy and ſenſe of manners, and to have but a very ordinary ſhare of common ſenſe left him. However, the audience were greatly relieved when they ſaw the tumult ended, without coming directly to blows.

Chap. 41. By the tumult which had happened, the procedure of the court was for ſome time interrupted. but that tumult being happily appeaſed, the buſineſs was reſumed. And, firſt, the counſel proteſted, that the defender's acquieſcing in the ſentence ſhould not be conſtrued as a departure from the right he had to proſecute the college before the Court of Seſſion for the recovery of damages and expence. Then the judge, who had contended for the alteration in ſtyle, mentioned above, proceeded to be the executioner of the ſentence. He was viſibly in great confuſion; he ſpit; he looked at the paper which contained his own form of the ſentence; threw it down on the deſk before him; took up the other form of the ſentence; threw it down alſo, and took up his own again. He called upon the defender, who ſtood up, and he began to tender the rebuke in the words he had formerly propoſed; but he was checked, and forced to confine himſelf to the form which the court had agreed upon. "I rebuke you," he ſaid, "for diſreſpectful,

petulant, and abuſive expreſſions, and admoniſh you to avoid the like for the future." Then the ſtudent made a ſhort ſpeech, in which he ſaid he was not exempt from faults; if ſo, he would be more than a man, more than a philoſopher; that he hoped he had given little cauſe for this unparalleled trial: He thanked the judges who had thought favourably of him, and the gentlemen of Clutha who had befriended and countenanced him. Upon which, there was the moſt univerſal and loudeſt plaudit of the kind that perhaps was ever heard: Six or ſeven hundred people rapping on the floor with their feet, and clapping their hands, raiſed ſo loud a noiſe, that the whole hall rung and rebounded, and the ſound was echoed back from the oppoſite ſide of the college-court, where the ſteeple was.

Chap. 42. Nothing now remains to complete this narrative, but to take notice of a ſquabble which happened betwixt the counſel and that judge, who, as I have ſaid, had thrown out ſome reflections againſt him. The counſel, highly provoked, had demanded of the court to hear him, and to do him juſtice; and boldly told them, that, if they ſhould refuſe, he would do himſelf juſtice in the college area, before all theſe ſpectators, in whoſe preſence he judged himſelf to have been affronted. An internuntio had paſſed five or ſix times between the counſel and the judge; ſome cards alſo were exchanged between them; and the judge, convinced, as it ſhould ſeem, of his indiſcretion, or afraid of conſequences, was willing to make ſome conceſſions. Then the counſel ſtood up: "If (ſaid he) this court declines to hear me, I will addreſs myſelf to this numerous audience. The gentleman hath taken it amiſs, and believes I meant him, when, in the courſe of the pleading, I alleged that the depoſitions of ſome of the witneſſes ſmelled ſtrong of prevarication. It is what I had a right to ſay in behalf of my client; and I will publiſh theſe depoſitions,

and let the world judge whether they ſmell of prevarication or not. The gentleman hath told here, that I was impriſoned by the college; and this audience, or ſome of them, might go away with a belief that I was impriſoned for ſome immorality or crime; but I was impriſoned for eſpouſing the cauſe of a friendleſs and innocent foreigner, who had been baſely affronted, inſulted, and oppreſſed, in this very place. And, inſtead of being aſhamed of it, I ſhould rejoice to be every week impriſoned in ſuch a cauſe. And I went to priſon, for a few minutes, of my own accord; for if I had not conſented to it, I knew well that this court had no right, and dared not to impriſon me or any man in their ſteeple." There was a huſh or deep ſilence in the houſe whilſt he was ſpeaking, and the public favour run ſo ſtrongly towards that ſide of the queſtion, that the audience gave the counſel a plaudit almoſt as univerſal and loud as that which they had given before in behalf of his client.

Chap. 43. In imitation of ſome grave hiſtorians, I intended to have finiſhed out this hiſtory with a large concluſion for the inſtruction of my readers; but the narrative part hath been ſo long, that I have but a few empty pages: And though I be ſhort on this part of my work, I hope I ſhall be excuſed; becauſe I preſume, that from the facts, as I have truly ſtated them, reflections are ſo obvious, that, without being pointed out, they muſt occur to the reader. Every man will lament that there ſhould have been ſuch faction in the ancient college of Clutha, and be convinced that it was from faction that this very trial took its riſe. Many will ſuſpect, that, whilſt the two parties were each of them violently contending to overbear the other, the ſtudent was unmercifully juſtled between them, and that his ſituation ſomewhat reſembled that of a great man, who, between Phariſees and Sadducees, was in danger of being pulled in pieces. And, as in the iſſue, though expulſion had certainly

been aimed at, the ſtudent was diſmiſſed with an admonition and rebuke, is it not a pity that this cenſure was not adminiſtered in private? Though the expreſſions were improper, yet the lad was young; it was his firſt offence; he was ſorry for it, and made ſubmiſſions. Or, after the trial was begun, is it not a great pity that the maſters did not accept of the explication of terms given in to them in court, and embrace the offer made them by Comalo? This was evidently their intereſt; for from the beginning of the trial to the end of it, they appeared more like pannels than the ſtudent, who indeed ſupported himſelf through the whole of it with a manly aſſurance. If by this proſecution the maſters deſigned to extend and eſtabliſh their authority, they took a very improper method to do it, and have been very unſucceſsful. After exerting their utmoſt ſtrength, they failed in their attempt; for the cenſure inflicted was next to nothing. It was a ſtretching of their authority, and authority overſtretched is commonly enfeebled. So that if petulant talk, or licentious principles, have really got footing among the ſtudents, it is well if ſome of the moſt headſtrong and thoughtleſs of them be not emboldened in petulance by the iſſue of this trial. In ſhort, it is certain that the college acquired no ſort of honour, either in Clutha or at a diſtance, by this proſecution. Theſe and other obvious diſadvantages, are the effects of meaſures raſhly entered into, and ſtubbornly and unrelentingly purſued. Nor am I able to diſcern any good effect which this proſecution can poſſibly produce, except that, by the hardſhips he hath ſuffered, the ſtudent may himſelf become an inſtance in proof of the poſition he contended for in the parliament of Oceana, namely, that *adverſity* is a better ſchool for virtue than *proſperity*.

Chap. 44. It hath appeared from the hiſtory, that ſome of the moſt diſguſting expreſſions thrown out

in court, came from the judges themſelves. One of them often told the ſtudent that he was a burſar; ſpoke of his ill-breeding; and talked of his ingratitude; and the benefits the maſters had conferred upon him. If the ſtudent was ungrateful, or if he failed in reverence and reſpect for his teachers, he was certainly to blame, and I ſhould be the laſt perſon to apologiſe for him: But it was not by their intereſt that he had got the burſary; and I have not been able to learn what particular benefits they conferred on him: But, if the benefits they conferred on him had been ever ſo great, it was unbecoming of the maſters to upbraid him with them, or to caſt them in his teeth, in that place, and in ſuch a ſituation. Much hath been ſaid and writ againſt the ungrateful, and juſtly too; for ingratitude is a very baſe quality; but the inſolence of benefactors hath been left untouched. This is a chapter which is wanting in the hiſtory of tyrants, and in the hiſtory of tyrannical, indelicate, and ill-bred perſons. There are men ſo baſe-minded, that they have no aim in beſtowing any favour, but to ſeize upon, and take poſſeſſion of the perſon on whom it is beſtowed, and to keep him in a ſlaviſh dependence upon them: I pity the man, who, by his circumſtances, is obliged to accept of ſuch humiliating and dangerous favours; and I ſhall ever eſteem the Abbe St. Pierre, who, when he was ſtripping himſelf of a great part of his fortune, in favour of a learned gentleman: "I give you this," he ſaid, "not as a penſion; I give you an abſolute right to it; for I don't chooſe that you ſhould depend on me."

Chap. 45. There is a fundamental particular in the above hiſtory, which, I fear, will appear myſterious to the reader; namely, that the college of Clutha ſhould have judged of a ſpeech delivered in the parliament of Oceana; for every one will think, that the ſpeech, if it was offenſive, ſhould have been taken no-

tice of by the ſpeaker, or condemned by the parliament itſelf; and that if college-men, in our days, ſhould thus try to encroach upon the privilege of parliament, they would be pilloried, or have their ears cropped, or be driven like Jeſuits out of the country. But, in different ages, the manners of men are ſuppoſed to be different; and, to account for the above difficulty, the reader will pleaſe to reflect, that the parliament-man in queſtion, was alſo a ſtudent at the college, and was therefore ſubject to academical diſcipline: Beſides, the greater part of the profeſſors, at the time, happened to be theologians, and every one knows the encroaching ſpirit of that ſet of men. How it came about that there were then ſo many theologians in the college, may perhaps be ſome time ſhown to the public; for there is a hiſtory in manuſcript, compoſed from the memoirs of Clutha, containing a period of twenty one years and a half, immediately preceding the above trial: In that elaborate work, the factions in the college, the ſhiftings of factions, the character of the ſeveral maſters, their different views, the means by which they were advanced, whether by party-work, or purchaſe, or entail, or court-influence, are minutely inquired into, and deſcribed; and it was from the beginning of that period, that theologians began to be numerous in the ſociety, and that its character for literature began alſo to decline.

Chap. 46. It will appear to the reader, even from the ſhort ſketches given in the hiſtory, that ſeveral of the profeſſors made but a very poor figure in their ſpeeches from the bench. Indeed, the ſide of the queſtion they had unfortunately embraced, may, in ſome degree, account for the figure they made; for they ſtood on ground where they had little or no opportunity for the diſplay either of eloquence or manly ſenſe; like ſo many fierce gladiators who have not room to wield their arms. They thought themſelves

obliged to say something or other upon the several points in question: An unfortunate situation! To be obliged to speak, to have nothing to say, and to have a desire to appear witty or sensible, are things which may sometimes make very sensible men appear ridiculous. But from the speeches of these gentlemen, and the ideas they endeavoured to express; and as those of them who had been longest in the college made the worst appearance, I am tempted to doubt, whether or not a college education can have any tendency to improve men in good sense, and useful knowledge, or enable them to form a proper judgment of men and things. At these seminaries, a careful young man may acquire some knowledge; but then it is a sort of knowledge, of which the greatest part can never be of any use to him in common life; and the worst of it is, that whilst he is acquiring it, he acquires also, if not a polemical temper, at least a dogmatical air, which is totally disagreeable, whenever it appears without the walls of a college. Colleges were first founded and endowed in the ignorant ages, to support the empire of darkness, of papal tyranny, and superstition; and they are hitherto upheld and encouraged by the public. But whether these foundations are of any use to promote real science, to improve taste, or form the heart to the love of virtue, is a very problematical point. And when I express my doubtfulness on this question, I speak with modesty and reserve; and I will be kept in countenance, by the authority and unsuspected candour of a very ingenious writer, who is a professor himself, and an ornament to that learned seminary, which had the wisdom, the honour, and the good fortune to give him a chair. "We may," says he, "be satisfied, from the example of many ages, that liberal endowments bestowed on learned societies, and the leisure with which they are furnished for study, are not the likeliest means to excite the exertions of genius.

Even ſcience itſelf, the ſuppoſed offspring of leiſure, pined in the ſhade of monaſtic retirement. Men at a diſtance from the objects of uſeful knowledge, untouched by the motives that animate an active and a vigorous mind, could produce only the jargon of technical language, and accumulate the impertinence of academical forms."

Chap. 47. I perhaps may flatter myſelf, that in the choice of my ſubject, and the execution of it, I have availed myſelf of the plan and rules for writing hiſtory, laid down and recommended by the connoiſſeurs in belles lettres; I have followed the plan of the illuſtrious hiſtorians who wrote the Catalinarian conſpiracy, the Jugurthine war, and the retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks. The hiſtory which I preſent to the reader hath unity to recommend it; it deſcribes one great, important, and uncommon action; an action which hath a beginning, a middle, and an end; and, in this reſpect, reſembling a theatrical performance, moulded into proper form, by the directions of the great maſter of critics. But whatever praiſe I may merit, on account of this unity, or whatever may be thought of the manner in which I have digeſted my materials, I ſuppoſe my language may appear careleſs, and my ſtyle incorrect. I fear I ſhould make but an unavailing and hopeleſs apology, ſhould I here declare in how ſhort a time I have tranſlated and compoſed this work.—When I had hardly put pen to paper, I heard that an ingenious friend of mine had prepared a hiſtory of the above trial: And if he had publiſhed it, he would have ſuperſeded my labour, and the neceſſity of this haſty production; for, from the knowledge I have of him, I make not the leaſt doubt but his account bears the marks both of accuracy and candour. The facts, indeed, in his hiſtory and mine, are and muſt be the ſame; though it is not to be expected, and perhaps is not poſſible, that two writers ſhould ſet off the ſame facts with

the very ſame colouring. I have not wilfully, or to the beſt of my knowledge, omitted any material fact; nor have I diſguiſed or miſrepreſented any fact or character whatſoever. I have done juſtice to the ancient inhabitants of Clutha; and, if the maſters of the college, at that time, had leſs merit than their predeceſſors in a former period, I have, however, fairly allowed that there were exceptions. And if the ancient profeſſors of Clutha ſhould this moment ſtart from their graves, (which indeed is not to be expected), and ſtand up, poſſeſſed of real life and ſpirit, and ſhould peruſe this hiſtory, every one of them, who had merit, would have a right to believe himſelf excepted from whatever ſeemed to reflect upon the reſt. If any one of them ſhould imagine, that this or that ſtory, or deſcription, or character, was meant of him, it would not be the hiſtorian, but himſelf who would make the diſagreeable application: He would demonſtrate that he had ſcarce yet recovered life, or that he was very ill inſtructed, with reſpect to the true intereſt of his own character and ſelf-love.

A

LETTER OF ADVICE

TO THE

FARMERS, LAND-LABOURERS, AND COUNTRY TRADESMEN

IN SCOTLAND,

Concerning Roups of growing Corn, and of Tacks.

My dear Friends and Countrymen,

I MAKE no doubt but you have a painful feeling of the diſcouragements you lie under, and the ſtraitening circumſtances to which you are reduced. With reſpect to many of you, your diſtreſs is viſible in your faces, your habits, and your dwellings: Many from among you have, by the hardſhips they ſuffered, been driven in ſhoals to foreign lands; and many of you who hitherto remain in this poor country, are pining away your days in ſore labour, indigence, and miſery.

Your miſery is occaſioned partly by your own folly, and partly by the rapaciouſneſs of the landed gentlemen.

Theſe gentlemen are many of them experienced, ſubtle, and wiſe in their generation; many of you are thoughtleſs, imprudent, and, though frequently overreached, not aware of the artifices they employ to keep you in poverty, or reduce you to it.

Indeed, when I conſider the traps that are artfully laid for you, I think it no wonder though you fall into them: You are like young unwary people, who venture to game with old, cunning, and experienced ſharpers.

And I presume, that every one of you who thinks will agree with me, that, among all the snares or traps that have been laid for you, no one hath been so extensively hurtful and fatal to you as roups: And you have even suffered by roups in many more cases than perhaps you imagine.

There are few of you in farms who have not got into them by means of a roup in one shape or other.

Whensoever a farm is to be let, and the proprietor has the dexterity to raise a competition among you, and many of you come privately, one after another, and bid for it, that farm may be said to be in some sort let by way of roup.

When by public advertisements you have been decoyed and enticed to give in to the laird sealed offers for any of his farms, the tack of such a farm is, in a still more proper sense, disposed of by roup; it is granted to the highest bidder, especially if he happens to be also the most wealthy.

But a roup appears in all its perfection, and to you (if you judged aright) in all its terror, when, in consequence of intimations publicly made at markets and at the neighbouring kirk doors, great numbers of you assemble where the roup is to be held to bid against one another, and thereby to undo yourselves.

At these assemblies, when you are in a blithe humour, the sly rouper takes advantage of your weakness, and disposes of his corn fields; at these assemblies, the lairds have for many years rouped their lands upon short leases, and sacrificed their oldest tenants for a penny more an acre.

By these roups, the rich, through their wisdom, have been still more enriched; by these roups, you, through your folly, have been often deceived, and many of you reduced to straits, necessity, or want.

In fact, a roup of growing corn, or of a tack, however profitable it may be to the roupers, is, with re-

ſpect to you, a dreadful engine of circumvention and oppreſſion.

To give ſome check to the progreſs of this oppreſſion, and to leſſen your miſery, if I had any hope of ſucceſs, " I would expoſtulate a little with our country landlords, who, by unmeaſurable ſcrewing and racking their tenants all over the nation, have already reduced the miſerable people to a worſe condition than the peaſants in France, or the vaſſals in Germany and Poland; ſo that the whole ſpecies of what we call ſubſtantial farmers, will, in a very few years, be utterly at an end." But I have no hope, that thoſe gentlemen who pocket ſuch unconſcionable ſums by rouping their lands and crops, would attend to any thing I could lay before them: For though this practice of rouping, eſpecially conſidering the inſidious way in which they manage it, is confeſſedly ignominious and oppreſſive, and muſt, at the long-run, work their own ruin, yet the immediate profit they make by it will hinder them from giving it over.

But I am almoſt confident you will liſten to me: Many of you have been great loſers, others of you have been completely beggared by means of theſe inſnaring roups. I hope to convince you of your paſt raſhneſs and folly, and to give you ſuch advices how to behave with reſpect to roups hereafter, as will, through God's bleſſing and your own prudence, enable you to redreſs all the intolerable grievances and diſcouragements you lie under, and to ſpend your remaining years comfortably, without being obliged to remove to the Britiſh plantations, as ſo many of your oppreſſed brethren have already done.

What I intend to ſay to you is, next to your duty to God and the care of your ſalvation, that which of all other things doth moſt nearly concern both you and your children; and therefore I cannot but exhort and beſeech you to read this paper: I have ordered the printer to ſell it at a ſmall price.

There is one thing for which you are highly blameable: When a perſon writes with no other deſign than to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices; and you neither know, inquire, nor care, who are your friends or who are your enemies; nay, you often miſtake the one for the other. I can live, thank God, in a tolerable way, though the price of grain be dear, and the rent of land ever ſo high: I can expect no benefit from you, neither can I reap any advantage from what I now write, except the ſatisfaction of imparting ſome uſeful and neceſſary advices to a numerous claſs of people, who are of the utmoſt importance in ſociety, but who are circumvented and oppreſſed by their ſuperiors, and rendered miſerable by their own folly. I cannot but pity your preſent condition; but I hope to ſee you in better circumſtances, if you will behave as you ought.

A roup, eſpecially that kind of roup by which you are impoveriſhed, is commonly the child of avarice and imprudence, foſtered by cunning. In ſome countries, the origin of it is very ancient. In old times, when a powerful and mercileſs people had conquered ſome of their neighbours, thoſe who were not ſlaughtered on the field of battle were condemned to perpetual ſlavery, and, like beaſts, ſold by auction to the higheſt bidder; an inhuman and barbarous trade; and accordingly the auctioneer was held in univerſal deteſtation and abhorrence. In thoſe days, human creatures were, by auction, enſlaved at once; now, by that ſame trade, you are ſtripped of your ſubſtance, and ſomewhat more ſlowly indeed, but as fatally and effectually, reduced to beggary, and condemned to ſlavery for ever.

In this country, roups, at leaſt ſuch roups as I ſpeak of, have not been long in faſhion: For ought I know, it is but about forty or fifty years ſince this ſtratagem of getting money began to be in uſe; and then too our lairds would have diſdained to enrich

themſelves by ſo debaſing a trade: It was when a farmer had given way, or died, and left his children unfit for labour, that, in order to help him a little, or to ſupport his children, his friends and neighbours were, from mere pity and humanity, prevailed upon to make a roup of his effects: And it was even with difficulty that the near relations of the deceaſed agreed to raiſe money for deſtitute children by a method which was then accounted diſgraceful and beggarly: For a roup was held to be a ſort of importunate, but a genteel way of begging; a ſoliciting for charity, an application to the country-ſide to make a contribution for a poor family: And it was believed, that thoſe who called the roup expected that thoſe who attended it were, from charity, to give much more for things than they were worth: Beſides, it was cattle, houſehold furniture, and the implements of huſbandry, that were then rouped; the crop was given over to the purchaſer at the very price at which ſworn birly-men had appriſed it.

But the cuſtoms and opinions of the world are very different from what they were fifty years ago: In this age, it is not the country people, but your lairds and gentlemen, who are the chief dealers in roups, and they are no way aſhamed of the buſineſs: At every roup they make, they cheerfully ſubmit to become a kind of beggars; and, as if needy of ſome charitable ſupply from you, they ſolicit for their lands or growing corn more than either is worth, or you are able to pay. When a poor tenant is beggared by his landlord, and offers to diſpoſe of an old horſe, or an uſeleſs watch, by raffle, you grudge not, you ought not to grudge to become ſubſcribers; you are acting from charity, and contributing to the aſſiſtance of a fellow-creature in diſtreſs: But when a rich laird tries to wheedle you out of your ſenſes at his roups, I cannot for my life ſee any reaſon for your parting with your money to gratify his avarice. A roup carried on by

him differs little from a thigging bout, which, they ſay, is to this day uſual in ſome parts of Scotland: When the laird is to buy a commiſſion for his ſon, or to get a daughter married, he ſends his liveryman, and his ground-officer, through among his tenants to thigg, that is, to beg, extort, force, as much money from them as will anſwer his purpoſe, and help him out at a dead lift.

The diminutive opinion which a laird who roups his tacks and his corn fields hath of you, needs not tempt you to give him your money, unleſs you get its worth in return: And ſuch a one hath certainly a wonderful opinion of his own underſtanding, and a proportionable contempt of yours, when he eſſays to fuddle and impoſe upon you in matters which you know much better than he can do: You muſt know the yearly value of a farm, or the value of a corn field, better than almoſt any laird in Scotland, as you have been converſant in theſe things from your youth. Neither hath he any greater regard for your perſons, or concern for your ſubſiſtence: If he can get the money which at his roups you engage to pay him, it is likely he will be pretty indifferent whether you ſhall afterwards be able to ſupport yourſelves, or if you and your families ſhall go a-begging, or ſtarve.

By what I have hitherto laid before you, you may the better perceive from what principle this faſhionable trade of rouping farms and growing corn doth proceed; a trade which, as it ſprings from covetouſneſs, and iſſues in out-witting and ruining the poor, ſhould not be thought honourable: It was accounted diſgraceful and ignominious fifty years ago; and I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be deteſted as ignominious ſtill. That which is naturally ignominious or criminal, can never alter its nature and become right: It doth not ceaſe to be criminal, though all the lords and lairds in the world ſhould practiſe it. The abuſe

and profanation of the Sabbath, of which many of our great men are outrageouſly guilty, is ſtill ſhameful and criminal: And the trade of roups, though the lairds have given it their ſanction, doth not thereby become honourable. He who abuſes the Sabbath, will may-be incline to abuſe and diſtreſs the poor: He who moreover ſells his corn, and lets his farms by roup, is wiſhing for an opportunity to circumvent and oppreſs you, if you put yourſelves in his power.

Before I give you the advices I intend, I will firſt mention the different ſorts of perſons who roup farms or growing corn, or both.

The firſt, and I believe the moſt numerous claſs, are the great or conſiderable landholders, who roup their ſeveral farms in the uncultivated ſtate in which they are. You could not, for many years paſt, look into a Scots newſpaper without ſeeing ſome advertiſements for roups of that kind.

In the ſecond claſs are thoſe landholders, who, having cultivated or reſted their farms, take two or three crops off them, which they ſell by roup, and then let the farms themſelves by roup.

A third claſs conſiſts of ſuch farmers as, having good ſtocks, hire large farms, which they cultivate for ſome years, and then, by way of roup, let them out in ſmall parcels to ſuch neighbouring farmers, or carters, or ſervants, or tradeſmen, as can be brought to bid high enough for them.

There is ſtill a fourth claſs, conſiſting of thoſe laſt mentioned, namely, carters and ſmall farmers, who, having taken lots or parcels of cultivated land at ſome roup, do, at harveſt, roup off the crops to thoſe who may have a horſe or cow to fodder in the winter time.

Theſe ſeveral ſorts of roups, though now very common, are all of them but lately introduced into this country; and you know that the ſeveral roup-

ers do perfectly agree in one particular, which is, ſtriving to ſet off their wares to the beſt advantage poſſible, for which purpoſe they employ their friends as emiſſaries, to publiſh abroad the richneſs of the land they have to let, and of the crops they have to ſell.

The proprietor of a large track of land, ſome years before the old tacks expire, begins to conſider what he has before him, and ſets himſelf to work: He invites to his houſe, from the different quarters of the country, thoſe who are reputed to have ſkill of land; he entertains them liberally; he ſhows them the richeſt parts of his farms, and, having put them into good humour, ſends them home to perſuade the ſubſtantial tenants in their reſpective neighbourhoods, that his land is uncommonly good, and that great and advantageous bargains will be got at his roup.

The gentleman who hath improved his farms, hath this manifeſt advantage, that, for ſeveral years running, he can ſhow the excellence of his crops; which crops have alſo been often obſerved, and admired by ſuch tenants as wiſhed to have the farms they grew upon: He therefore exerts all his eloquence, to perſuade every offerer, that his land is uncommonly true; that it doth not ſoon wear out; that, with very little manure and good ploughing, it will, during the courſe of a nineteen years tack, bring yearly a full better crop than that which you now ſee upon it: Or, if he hath only reſted his land, or ſome part of it, he tells you how richly it was laid down in graſs; that he hath every year allowed the ſecond cutting to rot upon it; that every foggage was little worſe than a dunging; and that it is greatly enriched by being long paſtured: And, if he perceives that many of you are deſirous to have his farms, he tells you, he is indifferent whether he let any of his land or not; he talks of the great gain he makes by it himſelf; but that he ſees ſuch farms would be very convenient and

profitable for you. In this manner, he artfully prepares you to bid at the roup to the full extent of his wiſhes.

The gentleman farmer, if not prompted by avarice, is at leaſt obliged, by neceſſity, to uſe all the above topics to recommend his land, as fit to produce very extraordinary crops: He himſelf hath a high rent to pay; he muſt ſtrive to get a ſtill higher rent from thoſe to whom he ſubſets his land; and it is needleſs to tell you, that thoſe who were over-reached at roups, when they got lots or parcels of land for a few years, try all they can to over-reach thoſe to whom they ſell the crops of ſuch parcels.

If thoſe who are to let farms by roup, be careful beforehand, to ſet them off to advantage, you know that thoſe who have growing corn to ſell are not leſs ſo: Some days before a roup of this ſort is to be carried on, the laird or gentleman talks with two or three honeſt men, in whoſe integrity and ſkill you are known to have great confidence; he invites them to dine with him; he puts the glaſs merrily round, he makes them cheerful, and then ſends them to ſet an eſtimate upon his corn-fields. The honeſt men are well pleaſed, that the laird pays ſo much reſpect to them; they think themſelves obliged to him; they are in good ſpirits; and the value they ſet upon his crops is abundantly high.

When the roup day comes, great multitudes of you hurry to the place of it; you inſpect the ſeveral plots, and think them valued too high; but, diſtruſting your own judgment, you conſide in the integrity and ſkill of thoſe who appriſed them. The laird appears among you, with a ſmile on his face; he ſhakes each of you by the hand, who he thinks will be a bidder; he aſks kindly for your wives and your children, which, perhaps, he never did before; and, it is like, he will never do it again, at leaſt, till he is to have another roup. He orders plenty of ſtrong li-

quor to be handed to you before the roup begin, and, by your not being accuſtomed to ſtrong ſpirits, and taking haſty draughts of it, you are ſoon the worſe. Being thus prepared for his purpoſe, he enters a plot of his corn; ſome of you bids, and a large bumper is given him; a ſecond bids, and he is alſo ſerved with a bumper; and, being in an uppiſh and cheerful humour, you bid even beyond the expectation of the rouper, and purchaſe his corn far above its value.

A plot of growing corn, is, you know, ſometimes entered at the very price at which it was valued; in that caſe, it is impoſſible for you to make a profitable purchaſe: But many of you chooſe to have each plot ſet up at a low price, that ſo you may have room to bid often againſt one another: You ought, however, to know, that, though it be entered low, you cannot buy it at a low price; for the rouper takes care beforehand to employ one or two baſe-minded fellows, called puffers, white-bonnets, or decoy-ducks, who have orders to bid againſt you, till you have bid up to the price he wants. And, when you are charmed with the civility of the laird, warmed with his liquor, commended and flattered for your frankneſs in bidding, and prompted by emulation againſt one another, you often buy corn at a much higher price than the rouper expected, or the birly-men had ſet upon it. Being worked up to a cheerful temper, every one of you imagines, that, if the corn be worth the ſum offered by the former bidder, it cannot be very dear at a crown or two more; and ſo you bid, and drink, and bid on and on, till you do what you will ſoon repent of having done; and repent certainly you muſt, ſo ſoon as the fit of cheerfulneſs is over, and the liquor is out of your heads.

I appeal to yourſelves, whether the above view and repreſentation of a roup is not juſt: Judge, and condemn me if you find it wrong. Have you not often, at roups, bought corn at an extravagant price, and re-

pented bitterly when it was out of time? Have not ſeveral of you made purchaſes, when you were ſo far in drink, that next day you did not remember what you had done, or what price you had made them? Have not many of you, by ſuch purchaſes, ſtraitened your circumſtances, and been forced to live in a poorer way than you would have done, had you never attended a roup in your life?

After what I have now ſaid, I need not tell you, (for you know it) that a roup of farm tacks is conducted full as artfully as one of growing corn. When the laird hath prepared you for his purpoſe, in the artful manner already mentioned, he will not be awanting to himſelf on the deciſive day.

The two ſorts of rouping, which I have been ſpeaking of, tend, each of them, (as you know and feel) to your hurt and poverty. But that of tacks is certainly the moſt abiding cauſe of your poverty and diſtreſs. If one of you loſes eight or ten guineas by the purchaſe of a corn field, he may, by labour, and pinching himſelf, in time, overcome that loſs; but, if he bids, and bids, and gets a farm too high, he muſt toil, and pinch, and ſtarve himſelf for nineteen years, which is a great part of his lifetime: His comfort in this world is then at an end. If the laird ſees, that, by the produce of his labour, together with his ſtock, while he goes in rags, and lives on huſks, he will be able to pay the rent, he will not ſuffer him to go away. You may imagine, that the inſidious artifices that have been practiſed, infer a legal nullity of what was done at the roup; but though you can ſhow, that coy-ducks, and all the vileſt tricks of impoſition, have, in fact, been employed againſt you, I would not have you depend upon redreſs before our courts of juſtice: I leave it to yourſelves, to call up to your remembrance, how ſome of you have been treated, when you dared to go to law with gentlemen of rank or fortune: You are of no conſequence in the nation; you

have no votes in the county; you have no friend on the bench; the judges do not know you; you can neither give them expenſive treats in public, nor in your own pitiful houſes. Whatever criminal, or even illegal methods may have been uſed to intoxicate and impoſe upon you, make not the dangerous experiment to obtain juſtice in courſe of law; you will throw away any money you have, and, in the iſſue, find yourſelves dreadfully diſappointed. You have ſuffered yourſelves to be played upon by the laird; you muſt even ſuffer for your folly, and make the beſt you can of the bargains you have imprudently made.

I have been longer than I intended, in deſcribing the principle, the progreſs, and iſſue of a roup: But I may, for that reaſon, ſhorten the remaining part of my work; for, if the very deſign of a roup of corn, or of tacks, is to enſnare and trick you out of your money; if a roup is conducted with ſuch dangerous ſagacity, and artful addreſs; if it iſſues in your impoveriſhment, and often in your ruin; one would think, there ſhould be no need of cautioning you againſt it: If theſe roups are ſo pernicious and deſtructive to you, will not your own good ſenſe direct you how to behave with reſpect to them?

I have, however, two advices to give you, which, I am ſure, are of the utmoſt importance: The firſt is, that, if you attend any ſuch roups as I have ſpoken of, you never open your mouths to become bidders at them. The ſecond is, that you controul the inclination you have to be at theſe meetings, and never go to ſuch roups at all.

Firſt, I adviſe you, that, if you attend any of the roups I have ſpoken of, you never become bidders at any of them: I know you have a wonderful itch and curioſity to go to fairs and markets, and other places of public reſort, where you are oftentimes very ill employed; it is that ſame itch which carries you to roups: But though you fooliſhly go to a roup, it is

certainly poſſible for you to keep yourſelves out of the jaws of the rouper, who is ſeeking to devour you. This is as poſſible, and as eaſy, as it is to be reſolutely ſilent; be but ſilent and you are ſafe. Even a fool, when he holds his peace at ſuch roups, is juſtly accounted to be a wiſe man.

This advice, will, I truſt, be complied with, as I have with pleaſure heard, that at ſome late roups of corn, and tacks, in different quarters of the country, you had the wiſdom and reſolution to behave in the very manner I now adviſe you to. When the corn, or the tack, was ſet up to roup, though the crier bawled and roared for an hour or two, he ſpent his lungs in vain; you ſmiled in one anothers faces, and kept a decent and profound ſilence: A ſignificant ſilence indeed! for it conveyed to the rouper a ſeverer reprimand, than the bittereſt language, or moſt pointed invective, could have done: It was more than if you had openly, and in the fouleſt expreſſions, called him avaricious, impudent, beggarly, and ſharper. Could you, on every occaſion of the kind, obſerve a like ſtubborn and prudent ſilence, you would not be in the agonies of repentance when you have returned home, and you would ſoon put theſe roups out of faſhion; and in faſhion they would never have come, had it not been for the amazing impudence and littleneſs of ſome whom you call great men.

One thing more on this point I peremptorily inſiſt upon; and it is this, that, as ſoon as you ſee drink brought to the roup, either in bottles, or in bowls, or in large tubs, you immediately, and without a moment's deliberation, fly from the place of danger; you may be tempted to take greedy draughts, as you think you get the drink for nothing: But, if it heats you, and ſets you a-bidding, you will pay a thouſand times its value; you had better, every one of you, ſell his coat, and go to a change-houſe, and get himſelf drunk with its price. Having drank of the rouper's liquor,

you will be aſhamed to continue ſilent. By the ſour and angry looks he caſts at you, you will think yourſelves obliged to bid, that you may make ſome return to him for what you have got from him. The drink, the drink, will have a ſudden and terrible effect upon you, or on ſome one for whoſe welfare you ſhould be concerned. The drink will ſoon impair your judgment, and make every object appear double; you will imagine, that the land, which is ſcarce worth one guinea an acre, is well worth two; and the corn field, which hardly bears twenty bolls, will ſeem to you to bear more than forty. A dog will run from the perſon who tries to put a halter about his neck; an idiot will ſcamper from thoſe who have flogged him, or have attempted to ram a bitter doſe of poiſon down his throat; and will you, in compliance with a rouper, ſtay to ſwallow down his liquor, when you are ſure his deſign is to poiſon and damage your underſtanding, that you may bid more for his corn or land than either is worth?

My ſecond advice to you is, That whatever inclination you have to go to roups of corn, or of tacks, you controul that inclination, and never go to ſuch roup at all. Some of you may find it difficult to comply with this advice; but, let it be ever ſo difficult, it is manly to cruſh a fooliſh inclination, which leads you on to miſchief and ſelf-deſtruction. Let thoſe of you who have moſt manhood and reſolution keep away from roups, and all your neighbours will follow your example. By this abſence, you will be completely ſecure againſt all the wiles and ſtratagems that might otherwiſe be employed to impoſe upon you, and every fooliſh bargain you might be enticed to make. When you have once come to a roup, it often happens, that, by the ſight of the company, the efficacy of the ſtrong drink, and many other things, you get into a volatile temper, and loſe the command of yourſelves; ſo that you act very differently from

what you intended when you left your houſes. Stay at home, and you will be out of danger. If a laird hath a farm to let, or corn field in your neighbourhood to diſpoſe of, you may hire the one, or purchaſe as much of the other as you pleaſe, by private bargain: But, if he calls a roup, he is determined to cozen and over-reach you if he can. If his roup is in the weſt, run to the eaſt; if in the eaſt, run with all your ſpeed to the weſt. Though it hath been intimated at fifty kirks, and as many fairs, though ever ſo many flattering ſtories have been ſent abroad about it, it is all a cheat, a trap laid for you. If you wiſh well to yourſelves, or your children, be ſure to keep at a diſtance from it. If, when roups are called, you will be ſo wiſe as to follow this ſimple advice for five or ſix times running, I will lay my life, that roups ſhall ſoon be at an end, and you will no longer be abuſed and beggared by this engine of circumvention and oppreſſion.

This engine you may knock in pieces, and render harmleſs, when you will; for, unleſs you pleaſe, no roup can be carried on: If you keep yourſelves away, a thouſand advertiſements at kirks, markets, and in newſpapers, will not give exiſtence to a roup. And what hinders you to ſtay away? By doing ſo, you encroach upon no man's right, you abridge not the liberty of roupers in any degree: In newſpapers, at fairs, at kirks, at markets, they may every day of the year advertiſe, proclaim, intimate their roups of tacks, and of corn; only you are not obliged to attend any of them. No laird, or lord, can force you to attend his roups, or to ſend him ſealed offers for his farms. Many odd cuſtoms have been introduced to impoveriſh and herry you; but there is yet no law that ſtrikes directly againſt your perſonal liberty. And I am poſitive, that if you knew what high entertainment you give the roupers, when you are fighting and bidding keenly againſt one another, juſt like ſilly chil-

dren, ſcrambling and fighting it out on a ſtreet for a bad halfpenny which ſome miſchievous perſon hath thrown among them; if you knew how heartily the roupers laugh, and make a ſport of you to their companions, after they have guzzled and over-reached you; you would have little inclination to give them any opportunity of making you their prey and their ſport at the ſame time.

In offering you the above advices, I neither have, nor can have any thing in view but your advantage. Let thoſe who have ſelfiſh ends to ſerve by you, direct your activity to objects where it can never produce any good effects; let them miſlead your zeal with a ſly deſign to divert your attention from your wretchedneſs, and from the certain means which God hath put in your power to remove the cauſes of it; I diſdain any ſuch ſelf-ſeeking, abuſive, and hypocritical artifice. The advices I preſume to give you, are plain, practicable, and eaſy: The effect of obſerving them is certain, and entirely in your favour. This is obvious to every one of you: Be but ſilent, and bid none at roups of corn, or of tacks; or, which is ſafer, and will have a ſpeedier effect, keep away from ſuch roups altogether; and, in a few years, you will have leſs unprofitable toil, leſs anxiety, than at preſent; you will live better, have better clothes, and cleaner houſes; you will be able to educate your children, and provide for them; you will have wherewithal to ſupport you in old age, and to procure the aſſiſtance of a ſurgeon or phyſician when you or your children are ſick, which, at preſent, few of you can afford to do.

But, if you neglect ſo eaſy a method to leſſen or remove your hardſhips, you ought not to complain of them: Your whining and complaints, if you will do nothing to remove the cauſe of them, are childiſh and uſeleſs; if your ſillineſs hath nailed you down to act and ſuffer as in the years paſt, your complaints are

as unavailing as the laſt howls of a dog diſſected alive, while he is nailed faſt to a table.

But you can do much more than complain; your power in this matter is great and unqueſtionable. By your ſilence, or abſence, you can, whenever you pleaſe, put an effectual ſtop to theſe accurſed roups. In truth, it is high time to diſcountenance and aboliſh ſo inſidious and beggarly a traffic, a traffic which hath been ſo hurtful and ruinous to you: And if you be ſo wiſe and reſolute, as to baniſh it from the country, the very roupers muſt inwardly approve of your prudence and reſolution, and your children and poſterity will revere your memory.

I will now mention a few of the advantages which muſt ariſe to you, from your behaving in the manner I have adviſed.

1. When tacks are no longer rouped in any ſhape, a ſort of golden age will return; farms will be hired in private, as formerly, and land will be got at a reaſonable rate, as in the days of your fathers and grandfathers.

2. When growing corn is no longer ſold by roup, the laird will be obliged to let all his farms, excepting thoſe which are neceſſary to furniſh grain for his own conſumpt, and that which he is to prepare for the market in his own barns.

3. The engroſſer of farms will give over that traffic, becauſe, when you have ceaſed to buy his crops, or hire parcels of his land at roups, he will no longer find his account in it.

4. As in almoſt every corner of the country, there are ſeveral of you, who, though you have tolerable ſtocks, are driven from your farms, and living in cothouſes, theſe will have eaſy acceſs to ſuch farms as are not neceſſary for the conſumpt of the proprietor; and alſo to thoſe farms, the crops or parcels of which the engroſſing farmer can no longer diſpoſe of by way of roup.

5. As no tenant will ever be tempted to any very expenſive or laſting improvement, while he hath only a ſhort tack, thoſe gentlemen who deſire to ſee the country improved, will grant long tacks to their tenants, which, except we had a law for a new and equable diviſion of land-property, is the only method to improve this uncultivated country.

6. When the laird and great farmer can no longer feed themſelves with airy hopes of high rents, and immenſe gain, by the traffic of rouping farms and corn, they will abridge their expences, and be leſs hampered in their circumſtances than many of them are at preſent. The land alſo will be richer when the crops are not rouped, and carried off it.

Theſe advantages, and others, both to you and to the public, are viſible and certain, if you behave as you ought. But if, after all, the lairds are obſtinately bent on the depopulation of the country, and on your ruin, which, in time, muſt bring on their own; if they will turn their farms into paſturage, rather than ſuffer you to cultivate them; if, after they have driven away ſuch numbers of the people, they ſtrive to ſtarve the reſt, it will then be time for you to look out for dwellings and farms in the Britiſh plantations, where there is no doubt plenty of room.

I am ſenſible there is much in the timing of any advice. People take ſometimes fevers or fits of madneſs and folly, and it is often a long while before they recover their wits. The fever or madneſs among you, for ſeveral years paſt, hath been ruſhing into farms, though the rent was ever ſo high, and buying corn at roups, be the price what it would. If this fever is now ſomewhat cooled, I expect my advices will be well received, and be of the utmoſt ſervice to you; but if the fever ſtill rages with an unabated force, my advices are ill-timed, and too ſoon offered; in this caſe, I write to you in vain. If, when the next roup of tacks, or pieces of land is advertiſed; if, at

the Lammas time, when roups, many roups of growing corn are intimated at the kirk-doors every where; if, like a man in a bodily fever, who climbs up the ſlates to the rigging of a houſe, you run madly to theſe roups as uſual, and firſt get yourſelves intoxicated, and then make ruinous bargains, I ſhall conclude, that your diſeaſe is ſtill in its full violence, and hath not yet taken any favourable turn; I ſhall, however, be very ſorry if that ſhall be the caſe.

But if you are ſenſible you have been hurt by roups, you will certainly avoid them; you will even be at ſome pains to counterwork the intimations that are made of roups. A rouper is purſuing his intereſt, when he pays the bell-man to intimate his roup; and you will purſue your intereſt, when you pay the ſame bell-man to cry at the kirk-door, at all proper times, "Beware of roups;" or, when an officer goes through a country village, urging and calling upon you to come to roups, who can hinder you to ſend a louder crier after him, to warn thoſe of you who may need it, by echoing in their ears, "Beware, beware of roups." You have a better right to keep your money than the rouper hath to wreſt it from you.

Even a more public warning may be expedient. Roups of tacks are every day advertiſed in newſpapers; and, whatever you have ſuffered by ſuch roups, you have not hitherto, that I know of, inſerted any advertiſement in news, declaring your averſion from them. If you are now tired of having been ſo long abuſed, and made the prey and ſport of roupers, all of your rank, in a ſhire or leſſer diſtrict, or in a number of contiguous pariſhes, or wherever the ſcandalous practice of rouping is moſt flagrant, ſhould join with heart and hand, and get ſomebody to draw up a ſpirited declaration and advertiſement, which ſhould be made as public as poſſible, to this purpoſe:

We, the farmers, land-labourers, and country tradeſmen in the ſhire of ———, or in ———, be-

ing ſenſible, by woeful experience, of the fatal effects of our having been tricked at roups of corn and of tacks, whereby many of us are reduced to poverty and wretchedneſs, have unanimouſly entered into the following reſolutions:

1. We will never, at roups, or by ſealed offers, or otherwiſe, endeavour to get into any farm which the old tenant is deſirous to continue in the poſſeſſion of, becauſe we judge this to be contrary to the golden rule of the goſpel: "All things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them." Thoſe of us who have tranſgreſſed this rule, do ſorely repent of it, and reſolve never to tranſgreſs it again; "but to do to others as we would wiſh them to do to us." Some of us are, in God's righteous providence, ſuffering for having tranſgreſſed this rule.

2. We reſolve, That, if a laird raiſes crops not for his own conſumpt, nor to prepare the grain for the market, but with the avowed deſign to roup theſe crops on the foot; or, if a tenant hath engroſſed farms with intention to roup the crops of them, or to roup the land itſelf in parcels; or, if ſmall farmers, or tradeſmen, have taken theſe parcels, and try to roup what grows upon them, we will attend none of theſe roups, becauſe at moſt of them we would run a dreadful riſk of being impoſed upon; and, by being at any of them, we would ſeem to countenance a traffic which is generally ruinous to the purchaſer, and always detrimental to the public; for, by paſſing through ſo many hands, the price of grain is unqueſtionably raiſed.

3. We reſolve, That we will never, in any caſe whatſoever, go to any roup where tacks of farms, or pieces of farms, are to be diſpoſed of. Many of us have grievouſly ſuffered by ſuch roups; and we know, that the deſign of them is, by extorting and ſqueezing from us far more than ſuch farms are worth, to keep us in perpetual ſlavery and beggary.

4. We reſolve, That when any farmer in our neighbourhood is reduced to poverty by a high rent, or by accidents for which he is not blameable; or, when a tenant is forced, by the rigour of his landlord, to remove from his farm to a diſtant quarter of the country; and when either of theſe honeſt men brings his effects to a public roup, we will attend ſuch roup, and buy ſuch effects at the full value, and even more.

5. We reſolve, That if any perſon now agreeing to the above reſolutions, ſhall bid at a roup, or by ſealed offer, or in private, for any tenant's poſſeſſion, or ſhall hereafter hurt himſelf at roups, by buying corn, or taking any farm, or farms, or pieces of farms, we will look upon ſuch perſon as a betrayer of our common cauſe, and a falſifier of the promiſe and engagement under which he hath come; we will publiſh his name and place of abode, that he may be avoided and deſpiſed; we will not ſupport or aſſiſt any ſuch perſon, but leave him to be aſſiſted by the tender mercies of thoſe to whoſe avaricious views he hath been aiding and aſſiſting. Theſe reſolutions we have, after mature deliberation, entered into, and are determined to ſtick by them. And theſe our reſolutions and declaration, we appoint to be publiſhed in the Edinburgh and Glaſgow newſpapers.

If an advertiſement of this kind were properly drawn up, and ſigned by ſome hundreds or thouſands of you, and plenty of copies of it ſent into every quarter of the country, I am widely miſtaken if it would not alarm honeſt and unwary people, and ſet them upon their guard, and be an effectual mean to prevent them from ruining themſelves at theſe beggarly and inſidious roups: But, whatever prudent method you take to diſperſe ſuch a declaration, you ſhould ſteadily and peremptorily adhere to the above reſolutions: And, that you may adhere and ſtick to them with firmneſs and unanimity, you ſhould converſe a-

bout them, whenever a few of you meet together; in particular, you ſhould encourage and beſeech one another, to keep away from the enſnaring and pernicious roups of tacks, and of growing corn.

I will conclude this firſt letter by telling you, "That whether you ſhall continue in wretchedneſs, or render your circumſtances more comfortable, is altogether in your own power." The means of relief are obvious and infallible. Nothing is a-wanting but that you act in concert, as men who have their common intereſt in view. At any rate, you cannot but welcome my ſincere endeavours to better your condition; and if, contrary to my intention, any laird or gentleman ſhall imagine that he is aimed at in this paper, I ſhall make him no other anſwer but this, "I did not know, Sir, that you are a trafficker in roups."

There are other particulars, ſome of them hinted at already, which it would be greatly to your advantage to conſider with attention. If I ſhall have health and leiſure, I aſſure you I want not humanity and inclination, to warn you with reſpect to them: And I ſhall be the rather encouraged to do ſo, in a ſubſequent letter or two, if this one ſhall be any way inſtrumental towards a prudent alteration of your behaviour with reſpect to roups, about which I have given you what I look upon as good advice.

I am, &c.